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IN

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EDITED BY

CHARLES E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I.,  
FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

RAO BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., (HONY.) PH.D.,  
F.A.S.B.

HONORARY CORRESPONDENT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,

AND

PROF. DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A., (HONY.) PH.D.,  
F.A.S.B.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

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I.M. 164-1929



I.M. 162-1929



I.M. 164-1929



I.M. 161-1929



I.M. 165-1929



I.M. 161-1929



I.M. 163-1929



I.M. 166-1929



I.M. 165-1929



## SOME INDIAN TERRACOTTA FIGURINES.

BY K. DE B. CODRINGTON.

ONE of the greatest problems in Indian archæology is the fact that the available evidence from the classical sites of the north, as excavated and reported by officers of the Archæological Survey, does not allow of an early dating for Indian culture. In the attempt to go beyond the archæological evidence, literature has been allowed too much weight: indeed, what may be called "literary antiquarianism" has dominated pure archæology. Furthermore, the loose dynastic chronology commonly adopted in India has too often been allowed to extend the confusion consequent on this critical laxity. For instance, the Archæological Department at various sites, such as Taxila and Bhîtâ, has not only made use of the term Mauryan, but has labelled certain groups of objects, considered to be stratigraphically allied, Pre-Mauryan and Primitive.<sup>1</sup> Now, the term Mauryan provides a sufficiently accurate chronology as far as it goes, but it can only be applied, archæologically speaking, to an extremely limited number of objects: that is to say, to certain rocks, pillars and caves, which are inscribed, and to a few stone sculptures and fragments that are akin to the capitals of the inscribed pillars in design and technique. Mauryan sculpture is usually discussed as a problem of foreign influence, Hellenic or Persian. It is at any rate distinct from the early Indian tradition of sculpture as exemplified by the railing-pillars of Bharhut, Bodh-Gayâ and Sanchi, and as developed in *Kushân* Mathurâ, and at Amarâvatî. There are, however, certain intermediate sculptures such as the *Pârkhâ* *Yaksha* which preserve the Mauryan technique (i.e., its finely polished surface), but, otherwise, in themselves, must be considered as forerunners of the sculpture of Bharhut. With regard to sculpture, it is clear that the term Mauryan can only be applied justly to work that is comparable in design and technique with the Aśokan capitals. A proper knowledge of Indian pottery would doubtless enable us to speak of a "Mauryan culture," in the proper archæological sense, but at present we do not possess sufficient knowledge to do so.

In the face of this want of knowledge, the usual antiquarian inclination to accept an earlier rather than a later date, makes itself evident.

The problem of dating Indian terracottas is, therefore, admittedly one of the greatest difficulty. All that can be done is to compare them to the very few other terracottas which have been stratigraphically placed in a more or less definite period, or, where this is not possible, to compare them with the sculptures. Difference of material makes the latter procedure hazardous, but in most cases it is the only possible method of investigation. Because a terracotta is unlike anything else recorded, it must not be taken for granted, in the present state of our knowledge, that it is "Pre-Mauryan" or "Primitive." Exceedingly primitive clay-horses are offered to-day at certain Indian shrines, and rough clay toys have been popular at all times.

Four main groups of material for the direct comparison of terracotta figurines must be kept in view:—

I. Two figurines were found on the level of the brick floor, which lies two feet above the plinth of the southern of the two Râmpurvâ pillars.<sup>2</sup> The first is said to be a rabbit, but is more like an exaggeratedly plump cow. The body is hollow, the head, legs and tail being applied. The figure is three inches high and is said to be of "the rudest kind," although the fabric is not described. The second is a bridled horse, four inches high, the applied bridle and eyes being ornamented with impressed dots.

II-A. In the British and Madras Museums there are groups of figurines from Nîlgiri graves, mostly from pot-covers, some of which have been illustrated by Bruce Foote and in

<sup>1</sup> Recapitulated with regard to terracotta figurines by Salmony, *Rev. des Arts Asiat.*, No. II, V Année, p. 99. See also my criticism of this terminology at Bhîtâ in *Man*, 1929, No. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1907-08, figs. 1 and 2.



Plates XXXVI, XXXVII, and XXXVIII of Breek's *Primitive Tribes of the Nilgiris*.<sup>3</sup> These are roughly modelled figures of men, women and animals, dogs, horse, sambar, etc. The decoration of the pots, which are of complicated ringed forms, is accomplished by free use of stick-work, impressed as well as etched. The figures are modelled with the hands, only the details of the features, clothing and jewellery being stuck-in: necklaces, waist-belts and cloths are thus rendered by means of chevron- or cross-hatching, and the backs and horns of buffaloes are decorated in the same way. The spotted coats of dogs and the eyes of most of the figures, though not all, are rendered by means of impressed circles, a reed or tube of some kind having been used. One of the male figures wears the classic Indian double garland, the *channavira*.

B. A group of terracotta figurines was excavated near the surface at the Bhir Mound, Taxila, among them a toy horse,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches long.<sup>4</sup> The eyes of this beast are incised with the same reed-like instrument, and are also probably applied to the head, but the illustration is not detailed enough to make this plain, and no technical description is given. The date ascribed to these finds is "late Mauryan."

C. A few fragmentary terracottas were excavated in the monastery-mound at Shâh-jî-kî-Dherî, a Græco-Buddhist site with Gupta surface-finds.<sup>5</sup> Among these, four are noteworthy. Fig. a. 8, Plate XV, which is apparently the "grotesque terracotta figurine No. 16" of the list of finds, is a crudely moulded figure, which may well have been the handle of a pot-cover. The arms, which jut out from the shoulders, with no attempt at modelling, are broken off. The figure wears a conical cap. The nose is literally pinched out of the clay. The eyes consist of applied circles, cut with a reed-like instrument, the pupils being marked by small impressed dots. Round the neck is applied a close-fitting collar, ornamented with a single row of impressed dots. Fig. b. 6 of the same plate (No. 45 of the list of finds?), the figure of a horse, has eyes produced on the same way, and also Fig. b. 1 (No. 19?). In the centre of the top row of objects illustrated on Plate XVI a, there is a terracotta elephant which does not seem to be included in the list of finds. Its eyes and a band, or crupper, which passes horizontally round the body, are rendered in the same way.<sup>6</sup>

III. At Basârh numerous terracottas were excavated, which are attributed in the Archaeological Survey Report<sup>7</sup> to the "*Kushan, Sunga* and even the *Maurya* age," though it is confessed that the evidence for the attribution of certain strata at this site to the Mauryan period is not plentiful. A few of the many seals found are described as Mauryan on palæographical grounds, but apart from the difficulty of comparing the script of clay seals with inscriptions in stone, the term "Mauryan" has always been very loosely applied in Indian epigraphy. One fragment of polished stone of Mauryan type was, however, unearthed. In squares V. 19 and V. 21 a number of figurines were found, which Sir John Marshall described as *Sunga* or possibly Mauryan, with Persian affinities. The alleged Persian affinities are based on certain winged figures, which, however, are purely Indian in type and detail. These attenuated figures, some of them on lotus-bases, are most closely related to the sculpture at Sanchi.<sup>8</sup> The treatment of jewellery, drapery, and, in fact, the whole pose is typical of the later work of the Early Period. They are very different from the robust work at Bharhut, and have nothing in common with the colossal *Yaksha* sculptures which are generally, and

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. Brecks and Elliot Collections. My attention was drawn to these figurines by Mr. Balakrishnan Nayar, who has catalogued them. See Foote, *Cat. Madras Museum*, Nos. 539 and 542.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1912-13, p. 42, Pl. XXXIX e, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1910-11, p. 30, Pls. XV and XVI.

<sup>6</sup> There is a small group of terracotta figurines in the Louvre from du Mesnil du Buisson's excavations at Mishriffé, Homs, Syria, labelled *circa* third century A.D., which correspond very closely with these Indian figurines.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1913-14.

<sup>8</sup> See my *Ancient India*, p. 33 (*stûpa* 3).



reasonably, regarded as being the forerunners of the sculpture of the Early Period, intervening between it and the work of the Mauryan period, which, as has been pointed out, is known to us only by means of the pillar capitals.<sup>9</sup> The little female head which is catalogued as: "Head and shoulders of a human figure standing *under a flowering tree*. Found B. 42 c. 2, 16' 6" deep; No. 518," is of the greatest importance.<sup>10</sup> Its actual context is not given in the report, but the depth at which it was found is extreme for the site. Salmony<sup>11</sup> points out that the alleged tree is really part of a complicated flowered head-dress; the moulded face and body, with its complex textile pattern corresponds closely with Fig. B, and it will be noted that the "flowers" of the head-dress are formed by impressed circles. No details of fabric are available. No. 409 of the catalogue is a figure of the same type, also moulded, but from a very much more complicated mould, the design being very naturalistically manipulated. The impression seems to have been taken and left untouched, all the details being in the mould. It was found at a depth of fifteen feet (B. 40 a).

A second group of figurines from this site are obviously of importance, though, unfortunately, they have been left unillustrated. In Z. 11, at a depth of five feet, Nos. 717 and 747, were found, and are described as figurines of coarse workmanship, the eyes being represented by circles. These occurred at the same level as a seal which is ascribed palæographically to the fourth century, though with what definite standard of comparison it is not stated. The terracottas found above this stratum are clearly fifth-sixth century. At the same depth in X. 15 were found Nos. 693 and 742, which are said to be of the same type, as also are said to be Nos. 641 and 642 from W. 17, depth 3' 6". In the latter area, a "Mauryan" seal, ascribed more definitely to third-first century B.C., was also found at a depth of 6' 3", but, it is said, out of context. The alleged Śunga (second century B.C.) terracottas of fine fabric, here ascribed to the late first century B.C., were found in V. 19 and V. 21 at a depth of four to six feet.

IV. Gupta fifth and sixth century terracottas are well represented. They have been found at Basārḥ in context with fifth century seals (A.S.R., 1903-04, Plate XXXIX), at Benāgar (A.S.R., 1913-14, Plates LVIII and LIX), and in large quantities at Bhītā (A.S.R., 1911-12, Plates XXV to XXVII). The actual fabric is seldom very fine, and according to the Survey Reports a red slip or paint is very commonly used as a surface finish. It is impossible to comment on these figurines as illustrated in the Survey Reports. It is evident that they follow the stone sculptures closely and are in fact often iconographical. In other words, they fall into known types and cannot easily be confused with earlier work. At Bhītā (Plate XXIII), the Survey classification, which seems to be based on what is, unfortunately, a very confused classification of the pottery, allocates a few figurines to the "Śunga-Āndhra" and Kushān periods.<sup>12</sup> Those illustrated would seem to be all crude examples of Gupta work.

Recently a large group of terracotta figurines appeared on the market, eventually finding their way into various museums. These Coomaraswamy compared to the terracottas of the so-called Indo-Sumerian culture of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, 4000-3000 B.C.<sup>13</sup> Certain of them are very primitive, in the sense that they are very crude. Coomaraswamy points out that his Fig. 1 wears the crossed garland, *channavira*, but he does not say that this ornament is essentially Indian and iconographical, and therefore does not hesitate to date the figure 2nd millenium B.C., under the title "Indo-Sumerian."<sup>14</sup> It must be noted,

<sup>9</sup> Certain of the colossal *Yakshas* have the bright polish of the Aśoka pillars.

<sup>10</sup> Plate XLV a.

<sup>11</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>12</sup> *Man.*, 1929, No. 101. The Early Period terracotta plaque, Fig. 17 of Plate XXIII, is, of course, excepted. As also Figs. 29 and 31, animals' heads, which show the appliqué technique, and Fig. 40 hereafter to be discussed. Figs. 34 and 35 are late Gupta (sixth century).

<sup>13</sup> Certain of these, which represent grotesque masks and women in *sāris*, and are of a light-red fabric, can only be regarded as modern.

<sup>14</sup> *Boston Mus. of Fine Arts Bulletin*, Dec. 1927.



however, that at the moment the term "Indo-Sumerian" has very little reality for us and that this figure is not exactly paralleled by anything as yet extracted from the complicated stratigraphy of the two sites in question. Coomaraswamy also ascribes a high antiquity, under the title of Pre-Mauryan, to a group of terracottas which are distinguished by the fact that the faces are moulded, and from kindred, if not identical, moulds; and that much of the decoration is applied. Detailed descriptions of other figures of this group are given below. As has been said, Salmony points out that they have a close parallel in one of the many terracotta figurines from Basârh, which are all definitely of the Early Period (third-first century B.C.), being found in association with numerous seals. Just as Coomaraswamy's "Indo-Sumerian" figurine wears the iconographical *channavira*, so the dressing of the hair of these figures is directly comparable to the double and treble plaits of the Sanchi bracket figures; the likeness is undeniable.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the moulded features are typically Indian, approaching to the Kushân model rather than to that of the early *Yaksha* figures.

Dr. Coomaraswamy attributes certain of these figurines to Taxila and Mathurâ, but, it would seem, upon no very certain evidence. They are certainly from northern India, and probably from north-western India. There is a small fragment of the upper part of a figurine in the British Museum which closely resembles them: this was found in the Bannu district. The following five figurines have been recently acquired by the India Museum, South Kensington:—

FEMALE FIGURINE. H.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in. W.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. I.M. 161—1929.

The material is a hard grey stoneware which has been well-fired, but in this case is very weathered. As with the following six figurines the technique used is threefold. The face has been moulded. The jewellery, head-dress (here missing), and hair have been modelled separately and applied. The features have then been worked over with a pointed instrument, and also certain details of the jewellery, which are further embellished with circular impressed dots. The figure is represented standing, but has been broken at knee-level. In front it holds in both hands what seems to be a bowl of fruit or rice balls (*pinḍa*). It wears heavy bangles, a wide and massive belt, a long neck-chain and two necklaces. The applied details of the head-dress have fallen away, but the hair is dressed in three plaits tied at the bottom and ornamented with flowers or perhaps jewelled studs. This form of hairdressing is directly comparable with the fashions portrayed on the Sanchi gateways. The jewellery also accords with the known Indian styles of the Early Period (third-first century B.C.). In spite of the rather childish overlaying of the applied details, which are put on very much as clothes are put on a doll, the moulded features have nothing primitive about them.

FEMALE HEAD. H.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. W.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. I.M. 162—1929.

The fabric of this head is of a closer texture than that of I.M. 161—1929. There are also traces of a black metallic looking "slip," or rather paint of an oily nature. The head-dress and the final working-up is very much more complicated than in the last figure. The hair seems to be dressed in bicorn fashion, a head-cloth being draped over it, considerable care having been devoted to the representation of its decorated border and of its folds on either side. Some sort of frontlet worn above the forehead seems to be intended, although its appearance rather suggests negro curls. The figure seems to have been clothed in a highly decorative garment, which came up to the neck, and wore large disc earrings of a type common in the sculptures of the Early Period. The borders of the head-dress have been impressed with a reed-like tubular instrument, which leaves deep-cut rings with slightly depressed centres, a row of these having been made on two strips of clay, which have then been applied to the head. In the same way each of the larger circles has been cut and

<sup>15</sup> The same detail of multiple plaits seems to be preserved in two crude terracottas from made ground on the Scotforth Estate in Salem District. These are Nos. 192 K and 192 L of Foote's *Catalogue*, and are illustrated on Plates 21 and 22. The fabric is reported as "pale red... coarse and very friable."



applied separately. This figurine is closely duplicated by Salmony's Fig. 4, Plate XXX. *Rev. des Arts Asiat.*, No. II, V Année. See also his Fig. 5, Plate XXXI, and Coomaraswamy's Fig. 3 (*loc. cit.*). All these heads are closely comparable with this head and with the other heads of this group, the same mould probably having been used for the face in each case. I.M. 165—1929 being the best impression. The existence of these duplicates and the state of the figures with reference to the falling away of applied parts suggests that their source was some sort of factory site.

FEMALE HEAD. H.  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in., Greatest width  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. I.M. 163—1929.

The fabric of this head is the same as that of I.M. 162—1929. The figure is without arms, and has been broken diagonally across the waist. The applied head-dress, part of the hair-plait and jewellery have fallen away.

FEMALE HEAD. H.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in., W.  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in. I.M. 164—1929.

The fabric of this head is identical with that of I.M. 162 and 163—1929. In this example the details of the moulded face are clearly shown. The lips, pupils and eyelids are all boldly cut; the hair is naturalistically treated, being parted in the middle; over it some kind of ornament is represented by two rows of raised dots, as also in I.M. 162—1929. The earrings have fallen away. The three plaits of hair are ornamented with impressed circles. There is a heavy necklace. The neck is very clumsily modelled, the result of the application of the moulded face to the modelled body. This head shows the surface finish admirably: it overlies the clay in a thin coat, which flakes away under the point of a knife. It is spread very evenly, but in places does not seem to penetrate into the interstices of the applied details. It is, indeed, somewhat thicker on the protruding surfaces, as if it had been brushed on, rather than achieved by dipping.

FEMALE HEAD. H.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in., W.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. I.M. 165—1929.

The parted hair is clearly shown and above it some kind of coronet is represented as in the other heads. The triple plait is preserved, and the heavy double-coil of the right earring, but the left earring has been broken away. Parts of a heavy garland remain round the neck above the breasts; this is ornamented with transverse bands of small impressed circles.

FEMALE HEAD. H. 2 in., W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. I.M. 166—1929.

The triple plait is ornamented with large impressed circles. The earrings are both broken away.

The appliqué technique of these terracottas and the use of impressed circles in the rendering of the eyes and decorative details, have been found to be common to widely spread groups of Indian figurines. Examples have been quoted (i) from Râmpurvâ, where they were found two feet above the plinth of a Mauryan pillar; (ii) from the Bhir Mound at Taxila, where they were found near the surface, a context which suggests the latter part of the Early Period (first century B.C.); and (iii) from Shâh-jî-kî-Dherî, a Græco-Buddhist site, continuing into the fifth century. These features also occur in the Nîlgiri figurines, with such convincing identity with the Northern Indian examples, that a late date and northern contacts must be admitted for the graves from which they come. It is difficult to suggest an end-point for this technique. It did not survive into the Gupta period, and, moreover, the bulk of the Kushân and Gandhâran figurines seem to be moulded. The Shâh-jî-kî-Dherî vails and the terracottas as a whole are finer, approximating very closely to the sculptures in stone: *circa* 100 B.C. is an acceptable date. The figurines under discussion partake technically of both these traditions, but they belong to the finer Basârh class, rather than to the more crude group. Their technique and the details of the hairdressing and jewellery, besides the Basârh parallel quoted by Salmony, all point to late second-first century B.C. as their date of origin.



## NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROF. S. H. HODIVALA, M.A.

(Continued from page 132.)

**Churruck Poojah.**—Mr. Crooke has given references to some other old descriptions, but a very long and very graphic account, as also one of the earliest, is to be found in Barbosa :

[c. 1516.] “ If any young maiden,” he writes, “ would marry a youth on whom she has set her fancy, she makes a vow to her god that if he will arrange for her marriage, she will do him a great service before giving herself to her husband. If her wish is fulfilled . . . she tells him that before giving herself to him, she must offer to such and such a god to whom she has promised to make an offering of her blood. Then . . . they take a great ox-cart and set up therein a tall water-lift . . . at the end of which hang two very sharp iron hooks . . . They let down the long arm of the lift and push the hooks into her loins through skin and flesh. Then they put a small dagger into her left hand, and from the other end, cause the arm of the lift to rise . . . She remains hanging from the lift with the blood running down her legs, but shows no signs of pain, nay, she waves her dagger most joyfully, throwing limes at her husband.”—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, I, 220-2.

Tavernier also witnessed the rite at Mâlda on the 8th of April [1666] and has given a pen picture of what he saw.—*Travels*, ed. Ball, II, 254.

**Cobra de Capello.**—The following use of this word is older than the earliest (1523) in *Hobson-Jobson*.

[c. 1516.] “ In this kingdom [of Cannanore] in some of the great rivers are found also certain great lizards which devour men . . . and in the land among the woods and thickets are found certain serpents which the Indians call Murcas, and we call them **Cobras de Capelo** (hooded snakes) for they make a hood over their heads. They are very poisonous.”—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, II, 83.

**Cobra Manilla.**—[c. 1516.] “ There is yet another kind of snake even more poisonous [than the *Cobra de Capelo*] which the natives call *Madalis*. Such is their renown, that they kill in the very act of biting, so that the person bitten cannot utter a single word nor turn him round to die.”—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, II, 83. Mr. Dames says the name is ‘ Mandal ’ in the Spanish version and ‘ Mandali ’ in Ramusio, and that *Payyâna Mandali*<sup>3</sup> is the name by which Russell’s viper is known. Lockyer’s explanation of the name is most probably an example of ‘ striving after meaning,’ and seems to be founded on the fact that the Portuguese word for ‘ bracelet ’ is *manilha* (*Hobson-Jobson*, ed. 1903, p. 558).

**Conbalingua.**—This word rarely occurs in the writings of English travellers, and all the illustrative extracts in *Hobson-Jobson* are from continental writers. But it is found in Bowrey, who gives a long and very interesting list of the fruits of the Malay Peninsula :

[c. 1679.] “ This countrey [Achin] affordeth severall excellent fruites, namely Duryans, Mangastinos, Oranges the best in India or South Seas, comparable with the best of China, Lemons, Limes, Ramastines [Rambutan] . . . Mirablins [Myrobalan], **Bolangos**, Mon-soone plums, [*Zizyphus Jujuba* or *ber*], Pumple Mooses, &c., and the trees beare fruit both green and ripe all the yeare alonge.”—*Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Sir R. Temple, p. 323. Here ‘ Bolangos ’ is evidently “ a curtailment of ‘ Conbalingua,’ ” as the editor has pointed out.

**Congee.**—The first English writer quoted in *Hobson-Jobson* is Fryer (1673).

[1622.] “ Have been endeavouring to procure the goods required ‘ butt all this tyme itt hath beene soe extreame raynes thatt neather beater cann beate, washer can give **Congee** nor

<sup>3</sup> Molesworth, in his *Marâthî Dictionary*, gives “ *Maner* or *manyâr*. A snake of a venomous kind, Cobra Manilla.”—C. E. A. W. O., JOINT-EDITOR.



wee looke upon nill.'"—Letter from Aḥmadâbâd to Sûrat Factory, *English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1622-23), p. 109.

**Cossimbazar.**—‘Castle Buzaar’ and ‘Cossimbazar’ are both Anglicised and corrupt forms. According to Jarrett, the original name was ‘Kâzihattah’ (قازی ہاٹ), Qazî’s Hât, i.e., Qâzî’s Market or Bâzâr, and this is the form which occurs in the *Ain-i-Akbarî*, where Qâzîhatta is listed as one of the *maḥals* of the *sarkâr* of Bârbakâbâd in Bengal.—Text, pp. 388, 404; trans. by Jarrett, II, pp. 120 and note, and 137.

**Cowry.**—Here are two English examples earlier than those quoted by Yule:

[c. 1610.] Nicholas Ufflet (who was with Hawkins) says: ‘for your pice in Agra [you may have] 30 **Caures**, a kind of fish shell come out of Bengala.’—Quoted in *English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1630-33), p. 275 note, from *Factory Records, Miscell.*, vol. XXV.

[1632.] “And att Agra, they have little shells called *Cowrees*, whereof 50 or 60 to a pice accordinge to the Bazare.”—*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, II, 311.

**Crotchey, Kurachee.**—The identifications of Arrian’s Krokala and of As-Suyûti’s Kîrakh or Kîraj with Karâchî are both exceedingly problematical, but there can be no such doubt about the following references to this town, which occur in the *Muḥit* of Sîdî ‘Alî Kapudan, which is so frequently quoted by Yule.

[1554.] “If you wish to go from Rasalhadd [our Rosalgat, *q.v.* *Hob.-Job.*, 769] to Diulsind, you steer E. N. E. till you come to Pasani or near it; from thence to Dairai Barr, that is to say, E. by S. till Râs *Karâshî*, where you come to an anchor, waiting for the fishing boats with which you enter the port.”

And again,

[1554.] “If you guess that you may be drifting to Jaked [Jagat] you must take beforehand your precautions and endeavour to reach from the Coast of Makrân, either the port of Kalmata or Kawâder or Kachi [Kîj] Makrân; Bandar Kawâder is the place where cocoanuts grow; or you must try to go to *Karâushi* or Khor Diul Sind, that is to say, the port of Lâhori, to get rid of the fear of Jaked.” *Op. cit.*, trans. Von Hammer, *JASB.*, 1836, pp. 459, 463.

I am not aware of attention having been drawn to these passages in any of the numerous works on Sind.

**Cubeer Burr.**—The Banyan tree described by Pietro della Valle is explicitly said by that author to have been within the environs of the town of Surat, but “on another side of the city” than the ‘Gopi Telau’—the Tank or ‘Poole of Gopi.’ (*Travels*, ed. Grey, I, 35.) Mr. Grey must be, therefore, mistaken in identifying it with the ‘Cubeer Bur,’ because that well-known specimen of the *Ficus indica* is situated, as Sir Henry Yule correctly says, “on an island of the Nerbudda, some 12 miles N. E. of *Broach*,” Broach itself being about 30 miles north of Surat. Thévenot explicitly says that the Banyan tree which was worshipped by the Hindus in Surat was a hundred or hundred and fifty paces from the Garden of the Princess, Aurangzeb’s sister in that town.—*Travels into the Levant*, Eng. trans. of 1687, Part III, p. 25.

**Cucuya, Cucuyada.**—This word does not occur in Portuguese writers only. It is found in Thévenot, who has something new to say about its origin.

[1667.] “For avoiding any mischance that may happen upon that account, the Poleyas cry incessantly when they are abroad in the fields, ‘Popo,’ to give notice to the Naires who may be there not to come near. If a Naire hear the word ‘Popo,’ he answers (crying) **Coucouya**, and then the Poleyas knowing that there is a Naire not far from him, turns aside out of the way, that he may not meet him.”—*Travels into the Levant*, Part III (Eng. trans., 1687), p. 89.



**Cuddy.**—An early use of this word is quoted below :

“ They being on board, their men in our mison shrouds, I left the deck and came into the **Kuddy**.”—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1651-4), p. 192.

**Cunchunee.**—Yule's earliest quotation from a European writer is from Bernier, but the word occurs earlier in Pelsaert as well as in Mundy.

[1626.] “ Other classes [of dancers] are named ‘ horckenis and *hentsinis*, who have various styles of singing and dancing, but who are all alike accomodating people.”—*Remonstrantie*, trans. Moreland and Geyl, p. 83. The learned editor suggests that “ ‘ Horckenis ’ may represent the sub-caste ‘ Harakiya ’ and *Hentsinis* is presumably formed from ‘ hansna ’ (to laugh) and may be a recognised description or merely a nickname.” But *huraknî* is given in Fallon's Dictionary and means ‘ a dancing girl or harlot ’ ; and Mr. Crooke cites a proverb which runs thus :

*Hugqa, Sukka, hurkani, Gujar aur Jât*  
*In men atak kahâ, Jagannâth kâ bhât.*

“ Pipe, tobacco, courtesan, the Gujar and the Jât are all one, like the rice of Jagannâth's temple which all castes may eat together.”—*Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces*, II, 448. See also *ibid.*, 498. I venture to suggest that ‘ Hentsinis ’ is a misreading or copyist's error, and that Pelsaert wrote, or meant to write, *Kentsinis*, i.e., *kanchanîs* ; and that this is the correct explanation appears clearly from the following passage in Mundy :

[1632.] “ There are also daunceinge wenches, of whom there are divers sorts, as Lullenees, Harcanees, *Kenchanees* and Doomenees (all whoores though not in soe publique a manner) beinge of severall Castes and use different manner of musick.”—*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, II, 216.

**Curnum.**—Yule cites only a late use of this word. Here is an early one :

[1633.] “ He promised to see that Carnam Vincota [i.e., Venkâṭa] discharged his debt, but this is not yet performed.”—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster, 1630-33, p. 278.

**Cuscuss, Cuss.** [1632.] “ In Agra men of qualitie, in tyme of heat, have little roomes accomodated after the manner called Ckusse Connaes, where they sitt Coole, haveinge also a great artificiall fanne of linnen, which hanges downe from aloft, and by pulling from without side, it swings forward and backward cawseing a great deale of ayre within side. Of theis Ckusse Connaes wee have one att the English howse.”—*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, II, 191.

**Deloll.**—This familiar word is first found in a mutilated form in Varthema :

[c. 1510] “ The merchants [in Calicut] have this custom when they wish to sell or purchase their merchandise—that is, wholesale : They always sell by the hands of the cortor or of the **Lella**, that is, of the broker.”—*Travels of L. di Varthema*, trans. Badger, p. 168.

Dr. Badger suggests that ‘ cortor ’ is a contraction of the Portuguese *Mercador* and that ‘ Lella ’ is a corruption of *dallâl*.

**Dewallee.**—The earliest English illustration in *Hobson-Jobson* is of 1671, but there is a much earlier European description in Barbosa :

[c. 1516.] “ No Nayre woman may go into the towns under pain of death, save once only in the year for which one special night is set apart. . . . On this night, more than twenty thousand women, all *Nayres* go in, for the most part, in Calicut. In their honour, the dwellers in the city set out many lamps in the streets, and the houses of the principal persons are hung with Carpets and decorated with rich fabrics.”—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, II, 50.

The translator says the special night is the *Tubâ-vâvu*, New moon day in the month of *Fulâm* (October-November), which corresponds to the *Dîpâvalî* season.



[1632.] "Then **Deewally**, a holly tyme among the Hindooes, when they sett Lamps and lights in their windowes and tarrasses, etts."—*The Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, II, 220. See also *ibid.*, p. 146.

**Dhoty**.—In the illustrative quotations, *dhoti*, 'waist cloth,' and *dotî* (Dutties), 'a coarse cloth for making and mending sails,' are mixed up together. The two words are quite distinct. The *t* in the first is dental, in the second cerebral. The first is derived from *dhonâ*, to 'wash,' cf. *dhobî*; the second from the Pers. *do* or *dû*, 'two,' and *tah* (ت), 'fold,' 'ply.' *Dotâ*, *dotû* and *dotah* (دوتا دو دو تہ) are given by Richardson, and signify 'double,' 'two-fold' (*Persian Dict.*, s.v.)

**Dhurna**.—In the first series of these notes, I gave a description from Idrîsî. I now give a passage from Varthema, which bears an extraordinary resemblance to another from Ibn Baṭūṭa quoted by Yule, s.v. *Doai*.

[1503-8.] "And when any one ought to receive money from another merchant, . . . they [*scil.* the people of Calicut] observe this practice. Let us suppose the case that some one has to pay me twenty-five ducats, and the debtor . . . does not pay them; I . . . shall take a green branch in my hand, shall go softly behind the debtor and with the said branch shall draw a circle on the ground surrounding him, and if I can enclose him in the circle, I shall say to him . . . three times . . . 'I command you by the head of the Brahmins and of the King, that you do not depart hence until you have paid me and satisfied me' . . . And he will satisfy me, or truly he will die there without any other guard. And should he quit the said circle, and not pay me, the King would put him to death."—*Travels of L. di Varthema*, trans. Badger, pp. 147-8.

**Doai, Dwyë**.—The following two quotations would seem to support the suggested Sanskrit origin of this exclamation.

[1639.] "Where with much trouble wee gott the Bramins together, for the Seladar was fayne to send the harkara into their chambers with the King's **daray** er wee could gett them out. And after they were out hee gave them harsh words, with vild names commanding them and all the rest of the assemblie in the King's name not to goe out of the place till they had made a conclusion of our business."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1637-41), p. 175.

[1673.] "They set a **Deroy** on the Factory, which is a prohibition in the King's name for any one to have anything to do with them till that be taken off."—Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia*, ed. Crooke, I, 90. See also *ibid.*, pp. 91 and 251.

**Doney, Dhony [Tony]**.—Mr. Crooke could find no illustration from an English author earlier than 1860.

[1622.] "The latter [the Dutch at Pulicat] sent one of their **tonyes** to overtake the *New Zealand* with the intelligence, and Mills sent a briefe note to the President by that conveyance."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1622-23), p. 154.

**Doombur**.—(The earliest use by an English author quoted by Yule is of 1828.)

[1632.] "Have provided a quantity of **rûnâs**, . . . and 'a fewe dumba sheepe for your piscashes and howse provision.'"—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1630-33), p. 211.

**Dubber**.—(The earliest English illustration in *Hobson-Jobson* is of 1673.)

[1619.] "Have been prevented from sending **dubas** for the butter."—Thomas Kerridge at Surat to the Factors at Broach, *English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1618-1621), p. 123.

[1622.] "Butter and meal should be forwarded yearly to Batavia. The former must be put into casks, not sent in dubbers."—*Ibid.* (1622-3), p. 115; also pp. 8 and 257; and *ibid.* (1624-29), p. 13.

(To be continued.)



## THE NAME OF THE KHAROṢṬHĪ SCRIPT.

BY JEAN PRZYLUSKI.\*

AMONG the tutelary deities of the towns of North-West India, the *Mahāmāyūrī* mentions the *yakṣa* Kharaposta, whose name is rendered in Chinese as 'hide of donkey.'<sup>1</sup> *Khara* means 'donkey' in Indo-Aryan, but *posta* is wanting in Sanskrit dictionaries. While discussing the allied word *pustaka*, Gauthiot showed<sup>2</sup> that its origin should be sought in Iranian *pōst* (Avest. *pašta*, Pehl. *pōst*, Pers. *pūst*), 'skin' or 'hide.' Skt. *pusta* or *pustaka*, 'manuscript,' is derived from an Iranian word denoting 'skin' or 'hide,' because *pustaka*, was at first a 'manuscript on skin or hide,' the use of which spread from Persia to North-West India.

On the Lion Column at Mathurā, we read the name of the royal prince 'Kharaosta Yuvarāja,' son of Mahachatrava Rajula and brother of Chatrava Śudasa. The name of the *yakṣa* Kharaposta and that of the *yuvarāja* Kharaosta<sup>3</sup> are doubtless superposable: the latter, like the former, means 'skin of donkey.'

*Posta* being a word of Iranian origin, the compounds Kharaposta, Kharaosta might not have been intelligible to uneducated Indians. It was therefore tempting to substitute for the second element of Kharaosta an Indian word understood by all, and this word might have been *oṣṭha* 'lip.' In fact, tradition knows of a *ṛṣi* called Kharoṣṭha, 'lip of donkey,' to whom the invention of the Kharoṣṭhī script was ascribed.<sup>4</sup> Kharoṣṭha, formed of *Khara*+*oṣṭha*, might well have been the Indian corruption of the Iranian compound Kharaosta: popular etymology might have replaced the ancient saint called 'Hide of donkey' by the saint 'Lip of donkey.'

If this be granted, the highly disputed question of the origin of the name of the Kharoṣṭhī script appears in a new light. If the name of the saint to whom the invention of this script was attributed is traceable to an original Kharaposta, the form *kharoṣṭhī* should have the same origin.

Historically, this induction is completely satisfactory. The documents in Kharoṣṭhī script, which have come to us from Central Asia, are often written on the hide of the camel or more rarely on the hide of the horse or of the donkey. Donkeys being particularly numerous in North India, their hide should have been used more commonly in this region than that of horses or camels. We can easily see that Kharoṣṭhī may have in the past denoted writing on the hide of the donkey, on *kharaposta*.

In a paper which provoked a sharp discussion, Mons. Sylvain Lévi had tried to prove that Kharoṣṭhī was derived from a geographical name Kharoṣṭra which itself is formed of *khara*+*uṣṭra* 'donkey and camel,' and which (according to Lévi) was an ancient designation of the town Kashgar. Two years later, without giving up his postulate concerning the origin of the word Kharoṣṭhī, M. Sylvain Lévi abandoned the connection he had proposed between Kharoṣṭa and Kashgar, and showed that Khotan had, equally with Kashgar, claims to be considered as the regular equivalent of Kharoṣṭra. This last word, in short, would denote the vaguely defined tract "which modern geography includes roughly under the name of Turkestan."<sup>5</sup>

\* A translation of the article published in French at pp. 43-45, *JRAS.*, January 1930, with the kind permission of the author and of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sylvain Lévi, "The Geographical Catalogue of the *yakṣa* in the *Mahāmāyūrī*," *JA.*, 1915, 33rd verse, and for the explanation of the name, p. 58 of the offprint; °*postā* of verse 33 should evidently be corrected to °*posto*.

<sup>2</sup> *MSL.*, xix, 1915, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> On the elision of intervocal *p* in Prākṛit, cf. Pischel, *Gr. Prk. Sp.* § 186.

<sup>4</sup> Sylvain Lévi, in *BEFEO.*, 1904, pp. 48-9.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *BEFEO.*, 1902. "The Script Kharoṣṭrī and its cradle," *ibid.*, 1904, p. 41.



It is unnecessary to discuss here the location of the 'Land of Donkeys and Camels' (Kharoṣṭra-deśa). It is enough for me to point out that the script called Kharoṣṭhī was not introduced into India from Turkestan, and that we could not therefore derive its name from a geographical expression denoting the regions of Khotan and Kashgar.

This does not mean that the speakers may never have confused Kharoṣṭhī and Kharoṣṭra. The plays of popular etymology are varied. Under a colloquial form like *kharoṣṭhī*, the normal equivalent of *kharoṣṭhī*, one could conceive as well a word like *kharoṣṭrī* as *kharoṣṭhī*; the former term would suggest *khara-uṣṭra*. In their ignorance of historical actuality, certain Chinese authors may have preferred *kharoṣṭrī*, which suggested the idea of the 'land of donkeys and of camels.'

#### Supplementary Note.<sup>6</sup>

While reviewing in *T'oung Pao*, 1921, p. 172, an article from the pen of R. D. Banerji on *The Kharoṣṭhī Alphabet* (*JRAS.*, 1920, p. 193 ff.), Mons. Paul Pelliot has noted: (1) that the Chinese transcription by Houei-yuan implies an original like *\*kharoṣṭrag*; (2) that in the language of the Avesta we have *aoṣtra* by the side of *aoṣta* for 'lip'; (3) that we find a form *kharustr* in Mekhitar of Aeriwank. All this would show that, during certain epochs, forms like *Kharoṣṭra* were current and that they might have been explained as "lip of donkey" or otherwise. But the original value of the term *kharoṣṭhī* is quite a different problem, which could not be solved by popular etymologies like "lip of donkey" or "donkey and camel."

### PRĀYAŚCITTA, OR HINDU IDEAS ON THE EXPIATION OF SIN.

By BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

*Prāyaścitta* is a Sanskrit word, which has been taken over like many others into the modern Āryan languages of India. It is defined variously as 'penance,' 'expiation,' 'atonement,' 'punishment,' and so on. The idea expressed by all these different words is identical, the difference being only of degree rather than of kind. The word 'penance' in English means an ecclesiastical punishment imposed for a certain sin, or the suffering to which an individual subjects himself as an expression of his repentance; whereas 'expiation' in its strictest sense is simply an act for the atonement of a certain offence, crime or sin; and hence it is a purificatory rite. As for the other two meanings of *prāyaścitta* they need not concern us here in our present study.

*Prāyaścitta* may be, and is, demanded for all sins and crimes against the moral, religious and legal codes of the Hindus. Therefore to understand what *prāyaścitta* means it is necessary to have an idea of the Hindu conception of sin.

The *Laws of Manu* give us a detailed description of the different kinds of sins and crimes without making any very sharp distinction between a sin and a crime. According to Manu almost all crimes, at least those of a graver nature, are those which offend the dignity of a Brāhmaṇa. And the greater the enormity of the crime, whether real or imaginary, the more is the need of a *prāyaścitta*; and if the proper *prāyaścitta* be not performed the punishments meted out for such offences are often as severe as it is possible for the Hindu mind to conceive. In one place it is said that those who commit mortal sins (*mahāpātaka*) spend a large number of years in dreadful hells of varying stages of torture, and then, when that term of punishment is finished, they are reborn in different insect and animal shapes<sup>1</sup>; and these punishments may easily be avoided by doing certain specified penances. Then Manu goes on to say that "he who steals gold will become a rat . . . he who steals honey, a stinging insect; he who steals milk, a crow; he who steals sugarcane, a dog. . . [and so on, through a long list]. . . . He who deprives another of his property by force, or eats sacrificial offerings of which no sacrifice has been made, undoubtedly becomes an animal. Women who

<sup>6</sup> This additional note was communicated to me by Prof. Przyluski after the publication of his paper in *JRAS.*—L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar (translator).

<sup>1</sup> *Laws of Manu*, xii 54.



commit thefts bear corresponding guilt and become the females of the animals above enumerated."<sup>2</sup>

All the crimes mentioned above deal with larceny in some form or another, but there are others which are much more serious. According to Hindu law crimes may roughly be divided under three broad headings: crimes against the property of an individual; crimes against the person of an individual; and crimes against the honour of an individual. To the last group belong sacerdotal crimes and religious crimes or sins. An unfaithful wife, we are told, will become a jackal after death,<sup>3</sup> and publish her shame to the world by howling dismally at night. The soul of a Brâhmaṇa, who drinks forbidden spirituous liquors, called *surâ*, will enter the bodies of great and small insects, moths, carrion-eating birds such as vultures and so on, and destructive animals.<sup>4</sup> Men who take pleasure in inflicting pain become carnivorous animals; those who eat forbidden food become worms; thieves become creatures which devour their own kind, like fish.<sup>5</sup> But more heinous still are crimes committed against the dignity of the twice-born Brâhmaṇas. "He who kills a Brâhmaṇa, after a long process through different hells, is to be reborn as a dog, a pig, ass, camel, cow, goat, sheep, stag, bird," etc., and "the worst fate is reserved for those who commit adultery with the wife of a priest or teacher [in former times a priest or a teacher was always a Brâhmaṇa, and even today the office of a priest is reserved specially for a Brâhmaṇa]; their souls are to return hundreds of times into grass, shrubs, creeping animals with claws and cruel dispositions."<sup>6</sup>

But the religious books of the Hindus say that nearly all these crimes may be atoned for by the person committing them, and a complete or at least a partial remission of the punishments may be obtained. In fact, the same lawgiver says that a man who omits to perform an action prescribed by the *Śâstras*, or one who performs a blameable act, or one who cleaves to sensual enjoyments, is obliged to perform a penance<sup>7</sup>; and adds that penances are necessary for the sake of purification, because those whose sins are not expiated are born again with disgraceful marks.<sup>8</sup>

Whether, however, any of the penances prescribed are applicable to graver crimes committed intentionally is not quite clear. The probability is that they are not. In one place it is said plainly that there can be no *prâyaścitta* for intentionally killing a Brâhmaṇa,<sup>9</sup> but if the killing is unintentional the slayer must purify himself by erecting a hut in a dense and impenetrable forest and dwelling there for twelve years, subsisting on alms and making the skull of a dead man his drinking vessel.<sup>10</sup> And in modern India the unintentional slayer of a cow or a calf must live on charity for a period of three or five years, and is not allowed to utter a word, although there does not seem to be any objection to his making some inarticulate sounds. On the other hand, the slaying of a Śûdra is a comparatively petty offence in Hindu eyes; or rather it was till British justice changed the whole aspect. The only punishment prescribed for such an action is the same as for killing a dog, an iguana, a cat, a mongoose, a blue jay, a frog, an owl or a crow,<sup>11</sup> even though the killing be intentional.

Some of the *prâyaścittas* are severe in the extreme, as for example that for a Brâhmaṇa drinking spirituous liquor. If a twice-born intentionally drinks such beverages through delusion of mind, his penance is to drink it again boiling hot; only thus, when his body has been completely scalded by the boiling liquid may he be freed from his guilt<sup>12</sup>; or, he may drink a concoction of cow's urine, water, milk, clarified butter (*ghṛta*) and cowdung, or any one of these, boiling hot until he dies.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Laws of Manu*, xii, 55-69, cited by B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale* (Paris, 1927), pp. 113 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Laws of Manu*, v, 164; ix, 30.

<sup>5</sup> B. Bonnerjea, *op. cit.*, 114, citing Manu.

<sup>8</sup> *Laws of Manu*, xi, 52.

<sup>10</sup> *Laws of Manu*, xi, 90, 73.

<sup>12</sup> *Laws of Manu*, xi, 91.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Laws of Manu*, xii, 56.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Laws of Manu*, xi, 44.

<sup>9</sup> *Laws of Manu*, xi, 90.

<sup>11</sup> *Laws of Manu*, xi, 132.

<sup>13</sup> *Laws of Manu*, xi, 92.



Manu makes a sharp distinction between intentional and unintentional sins. As a general rule lesser crimes, though intentional, may be atoned for by the performance of certain penances, except, as we have seen, the slaying of a Brāhmaṇa or of a cow. We are told that all sages prescribe a *prāyaścitta* for a sin unintentionally committed, and some declare on the evidence of the revealed texts that penances may be performed even for intentional sins. And further we hear that a sin unintentionally committed is expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts, while intentional sins may be expiated only by special penances.<sup>14</sup>

Not only is there a distinction between intentional and unintentional sins, but also between actual and magical or actual and imaginary sins. The essence of the Hindu caste system as practised at the present day is not so much what he must do and what he must not do, but principally it is that he is forbidden to eat certain kinds of food, the chief of which is beef. A Hindu may still remain a Hindu in spite of all his contrary religious beliefs; he may be allowed to mix socially with whomsoever he pleases; he may scrupulously avoid attending any Hindu religious worship; and, if a Brāhmaṇa, he may even neglect to have his *upavīta*, (sacred thread), when he attains the proper age. There are *prāyaścittas* for all of these. But let him once eat beef, or even smell it, for the Sanskrit proverb says: *Ghrānam arddha bhojanam* ('Smelling is half eating'), and he becomes an outcaste for ever. Thus a well known case is mentioned of a certain Bengali family which lost its caste through having smelt forbidden food (beef) being cooked.<sup>15</sup> So strict is this rule about food taboos that it has been said that "the stomach is the seat of Hinduism"; and down to our own times it is a favourite custom of the Muhammadans to make a man lose caste by forcing beef down his throat. The question never arises whether the man so treated was a willing party to it; indeed it is of no importance, even if he resisted to the best of his ability, but the fact which remains indisputable is that he has tasted forbidden food, and is therefore, *ipso facto*, an outcaste. For such a crime as the eating of beef no *prāyaścitta* is possible. If, however, a man is made an outcaste for some other reasons, he may be reinstated into his former position by feeding a certain number of Brāhmaṇas, and by other similar means.

Many other articles of food are also taboo to the Hindus, but infringement against these taboos may be expiated. In one religious book it is said that food which has been allowed to remain for a certain length of time, that which has got cold, over-cooked, evil-smelling food, food cooked the previous day, leavings from others' plates, and uneatable food, such as certain meats and so on, are acceptable food only to the vicious.<sup>16</sup> And a European scholar, mentioning the food taboos of the Hindus, says: "*Für noch wirksamer als alle äussere Reinigungsmittel gilt der Genuss reiner Speisen; wer sich in Bezug auf seine Ernährung rein erhält, der ist wahrhaft rein, nicht der sich nur äusserlich mit Erde oder Wasser reinigt. . . . Doch sind nur den Brahmanen alle diese Getränke [i.e., *surā* and *madhu*, both spirituous liquors] verboten; während der Ksatriya und Vaisya sie teilweise geniessen dürfen. . . . Fleischessen und Alkoholismus stehen im Allgemeinen auf gleicher Stufe, doch wird ersteres Vergehen nicht zu den Todsünden gerechnet, und die Smṛtis enthalten noch manche Überreste von den vedischen Tieropfern und einer besseren Auffassung der Ahimsā, welche gewisse Tiere für essbar erklärt. So besagt ein bekannter Memorialvers, dass man bei Empfang eines Ehrengastes, bei einem Opfer und zu Ehren der Manen ein Tier schlachten dürfe, sonst aber niemals. Daher sagt Vas. 4.1, ist das Schlachten von Tieren bei einem Opfer kein Schlachten im eigentlichen Sinn: bei M. 5, 48, Vi. 51, 71, ist freilich an die Stelle dieses Satzes der andere getreten: daher muss man den*

<sup>14</sup> *Laws of Manu*, xi, 45 f.

<sup>15</sup> B. Bonnerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 7, note<sup>1</sup>, citing J. N. Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects* (Calcutta, 1896), pp. 119 f., S. C. Bose, *The Hindus as they are*, pp. 171-174, (Sir) H. H. Risley, *The People of India*, ed. 1915, p. 116.

<sup>16</sup> "*Yātayāmaṁ gatarasaṁ pūti paryuṣitaṁ ca yat*

*Ucchiṣṭamāpi cāmedhyam bhojanam tāmasapriyam*"—[*Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*, xvii, 10 (*Āryadharmmagranthāvalī*, part i, edited by Abināścandra Mukhopādhyāya, Calcutta, 1319 (Bengali era), p. 355).]



*Fleischgenuss vermeiden. . . . Von vegetabilischer Nahrung soll man Knoblauch, Lauch, Zwiebeln, Pilze, auf dem Mist gewachsene Pflanzen meiden. Auch von unwürdigen Personen geschenkte, abgestandene Speisen, wie Überreste einer Mahlzeit, von unreinen Tieren oder Menschen berührte Speisen u. dgl. dürfen nicht genossen werden.*"<sup>17</sup> Further lentils are taboo to all good Brâhmanas, and it is forbidden to partake of food while standing or lying down, in a naked state, or in wet clothes.<sup>18</sup>

Another imaginary heinous offence committed by young Hindus in modern times in ever increasing numbers is going to foreign parts, but fortunately this offence can easily be expiated. A traveller is often believed to contract a dangerous infection from strangers, especially if the strangers are of an inferior caste ; and therefore, when, at the end of his sojourn in a foreign country, as for example Europe, he returns to his native place, he is required to submit to various purificatory ceremonies before he is allowed to mix freely with his kinsfolk, or before any one of his own caste may mix with him. In the vast majority of cases all he is required to do in order to be purified is to poll his hair—which may nevertheless be retained on payment of a certain sum of money—and by tasting the *pañcagavya* or the five products of the cow. In one case however certain Hindu ambassadors who were sent to England were required to expiate more rigorously. They were considered so polluted by coming in contact with strangers that nothing short of being reborn was held sufficient in their case. A golden *yoni* was made, and they were obliged to pass through it in order to be reborn ; and they came out stainless as newborn babes.<sup>19</sup>

As to what constitutes *prâyaścitta*, there are different forms of varying hardships. One of the easiest forms is the reading of certain ancient Sanskrit texts, but it is not quite clear which is the most efficacious. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* says that whoever listens to the history of Prahlâda is immediately cleansed from his sins, and that a man who hears this *Purāṇa* obtains the fruit of bathing in the Puṣkara lake for twelve years in the month of *Kârttika* (October-November). Equally emphatic, if not more, is the *Bhagavad-gîtâ* about its supposed efficacy in cleansing all kinds of sins. Here we are told that a man who attentively studies its eighteen chapters attains knowledge and thereafter salvation ; if he is unable to read the whole of it but reads only one half, there is no doubt but that he acquires as much virtue as is attained by the gift of a cow [to a Brâhmaṇa] ; he who reads only a third of it acquires thereby the fruit of bathing in the Ganges ; the diligent reader of a sixth part gains as much virtue as though he has performed the *soma* sacrifice ; and finally, he who reads only one chapter daily attains *Rudra-loka* and lives there happily for a long time.<sup>20</sup> And a little further on it is said that even if a great sinner is fond of listening to the *Gîtâ* he will attain *Vaikuṇṭha* and live there in peace with Viṣṇu.<sup>21</sup> Analysing the *Gîtâ* text we find that the gift of a cow is regarded as an expiation of the highest order, next to that comes bathing in the Ganges, and the third place is allotted to the *soma* sacrifice.

(To be continued.)

<sup>17</sup> J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* [Gr. d. indo-arisch. Phil.], pp. 157 f.

<sup>18</sup> B. Bonnerjea, "Some Notes on Magic and Taboo in Bengal," *The Indian Antiquary*, lvii (Bombay, 1928), p. 111.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.*, "The Power of Magic in Bengal," *The Indian Antiquary*, lviii (1929), p. 76 and note<sup>13</sup>. References are given there.

<sup>20</sup> *Yo'asṭâdaśajapo nityam nara niṣcalamânasah  
Jñânasiddhim sa labhate tato yâti param padam* (10)  
*Pâthe' asamarthaḥ sampūrṇe tato'arddham pâṭhamâcaret  
Tadâ godâna-jam puṇyam labhate nâtra saṁsayah* (11)  
*Tribhâgam paṭhamânasta gaṅgâsnânaphalam labhet  
Śarasam japamânasta somayâgaphalam labhet* (12)  
*Ekâdhyâyantu yo nityam paṭhate bhaktisaṁyutah  
Rudralokamavâpnoti gano bhûtvâ vasecciram* (13)—[*Srîgîtâmâhâtmyam*, 10-13 (*Āryadharmmagranthāvalī*, pt. i, pp. 413 f.)]

<sup>21</sup> "Gîtârthaśravaṇâśakto mahâpâpayuto' api vâ  
Vaikuṇṭham samavâpnoti viṣṇunâ saha modate"—(*ibid.*, 18 [p. 415].)



SCRAPS OF TIBETO-BURMAN FOLKLORE.

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

(Continued from p. 118.)

5. Offerings.

"At the same time (p. 26) he threw [from the bridge over the Tistá] a couple of copper coins into the river as an offering to the deities which dwell there."

"Burnt offerings of some sort (p. 282) play a part in all primitive religions. In Lhasa there is a striking instance of this. Some two miles to the south-west of the city on the very summit of a precipitous hill is a gigantic urn, in which very smoky incense is burned every day. It takes several hours to climb this hill, so the wealthier devotees prefer to pay various coolies to carry the incense up for them. But the merit acquired by the act belongs to the donor and not to the poor coolie."

In Burma offerings of many kinds on every sort of occasion are made to the ubiquitous *nats*: for details see Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, p. 238 f. [At boat races] "it is necessary to propitiate the guardian spirit of the river and votive offerings are therefore to be made. At the stern of each boat crouches a man, holding with outstretched arms a bunch of plantains, some cooked rice, flowers and betel for the soothing of the water kalpies. *Op. cit.*, p. 357.

In *E.R.E.*, III, 26, it is said that "the Kachins [of Burma] give an explanation of the object of animal sacrifices and of the common practice of consuming the flesh of the sacrifice. They say that when they are in trouble, their primeval mother Chang-kho demands the pigs and the cattle, or she will eat out their lives. So when they are ill, they say 'we must eat to the *nats*.' The Kachins have further an illuminating notion of being able to promise the sacrifice ordered by the *tumsa* (exorcist) at some future time, if it be not available when ordered. Here we seem to have the embryo of the idea leading to the pictures and effigies, in lieu of actual sacrifice, used by the Chinese and their followers in Indo-China. The principle of the sacrifice is to give a small portion of the animal or thing sacrificed to the *nats* and to devour the rest, or to eat up what has been temporarily devoted as an offering. Sometimes only the useless parts of the sacrifice are offered. . . . Absolute sacrifice, though uncommon on any considerable scale, is not unknown. . . . On a small scale absolute sacrifice is common enough."

Dropping trifling offerings into rivers, lakes and the sea is a common practice in India. *E.g.*, "Hindus, especially women, of Lower Bengal, on going on a pilgrimage by river or sea, generally drop a few coppers into the water as an offering to Buddha Udin [Badru'ddîn Auliâ of Chittagong] saying, '*Daryâ kâ pâñch paise, Buddhar, Buddhar*' [the Sea's five pence, Badr, Badr]." (*Journal, Burma Research Society*, XV, 3.) See also pp. 11, 13: "The song which Muhammadan boatmen sing on the Ganges, and which ends with the words '*Sar-i-Gangâ, Pâñch Pîr, Badr, Badr, Badr*.' Here we seem to have the origin of the women's custom . . . of dropping coppers into the water on a river journey with the words '*Daryâ ke pâñch paise, Badhar, Badhar*,' where the Five Saints (Pâñch Pîr) have become 'five pence' (*pâñch paise*), the Musalman's Pâñch Pîr being no doubt due to the old and famous Pâñche Dêva, the Five Gods of the Hindu domestic ritual of purely Indian descent." See also *The Word of Lalla*, 70.

6. Incense.

"A tiny sacred island (pp. 44, 45) in the middle of a frozen lake [at Pari] . . . Morning and evening was burned incense, the sweet odour of which appeared to frighten the dark demons of the night."

In Burma "incense sticks and scented wood are often burnt on stone altars, erected specially for such fire offerings [candles, tapers, lamps]." Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 189.

7. Ceremonial Dancing.

"The whole morning (p. 271) the market place [at Lhasa] was full of revellers of both sexes and from every part of Tibet. They were singing, shouting and dancing. The dancing



interested me particularly, as it was unlike anything I had seen before. Three or four women would gather and form a circle. Each woman had in her hand a leather strap strung with little bells, such as are hung on the necks of ponies in Tibet when a noble rides forth. The women would then begin to sing and stamp their feet rhythmically, at the same time jangling the bells which they held in their hands. Gradually numbers of men—strangers—would gather around, join in the song and stamp their feet in the same rhythmic fashion. Verse after verse would be sung and the stamping would go on for many minutes, until the singers were out of breath, or one of the women weary and jostled from behind would fall down. Then the party would break up, only, however, in most cases to form again a few yards further to the right, once breath and voice had been recovered. It was obvious that these parties were gradually making the way around the Inner Circle, . . . performing the prescribed circumambulation of the Cathedral square. It was quaint to see them performing this holy rite in such an exceedingly jovial fashion."

In Burma "all propitiative ceremonies among the wild tribes end in drinking and dancing, and commonly in drunken orgies." (*E.R.E.*, III, 7.)

In *The Word of Lalla*, 172, it is remarked that ecstatic religious dancing is a very old practice in India and is there explained philosophically as a copy of the Dance of the Shiva—the Dancing Lord of the Himalayas—"typifying the course of the cosmos under His rule. It implies [philosophically] that the devotee has wholly surrendered the world and become united with Shiva [*i.e.*, the Deity, represented in modern Tibet by the Buddha]."

In the *Calcutta Review*, 1925, p. 71, there is an article by A. Somerville on "Queer Tibetan Customs," in the course of which he describes the Devil Dance thus: "In early Tibet there were two national dances which held precedence to all others, these were the 'Devil Dance' and the 'Lama Dance.' Of these, the 'Devil Dance' was certainly the more popular, and was originally a religious ceremony of the old Bon faith which flourished in Tibet prior to the introduction of Buddhism and was intended to propitiate the devils and various earth-demons, the worship of which formed the basic principles of the Bon ritual. Later it degenerated into a grotesque ceremonial dance, held principally at night, in which the performers disguised themselves in hideous masks representing various animals and demons, and careered wildly around a figure of Buddha or a huge bonfire, uttering wild cries and imitating as closely as possible the motions of the various animals they represented. The significance of these masks was explained by their facial expression and was intended by the Lamas to instruct the ignorant on-lookers in the basic principles of the Buddhist faith. Thus the man who lived a cruel life, would later, according to the laws of Karma and rebirth, as interpreted by the Lamas, return to this earth in the form of the beast or demon he most nearly represented. Gradually, however, with the ennobling influence of Buddhism and the introduction of a superior class of Lamas into the various monasteries all over Tibet, the popularity of the Devil Dance died out, but many of its rites, costumes, etc., were incorporated and the Lama Dance we see to-day is actually a co-mingling of the two."

He then goes on to remark: "The statue of the largest Buddha is brought out and placed a short distance from the Monastery, facing the entrance. In the centre is a shrine of 'good-luck,' composed principally of coloured thread, paper and flags. The worshippers advance towards this shrine, spray it with handfuls of rice or lay various votive offerings, such as fruit, milk, etc., before it.

"The dance now commences. Heralded with a flourish of trumpets, a clanging of cymbals and beating of drums, the Lamas, made hideous with their grotesque headgear, troop slowly out of the Temple and commence to circle slowly round the shrine of 'good-luck.' Gradually, with the music, the speed of the dancers increase. They work themselves up into a religious fury, whirling swiftly round and round, till exhausted, when with one accord they rush into the Monastery and the dance is finished."



### 8. Flags.

"In the middle (p. 26) of the bridge [over the Tistâ] we found a number of paper prayers fluttering in the breeze. Toby brought out with him three such printed prayers, which he had carried with him, and tied them on to the others."

"On reaching the town of Pari the first thing we noticed was a tiny sacred island in the middle of a frozen lake. Hereon were erected prayer flags, which as they fluttered in the breeze wiped out the sins of man, according to the Tibetan belief" (p. 44).

"The Tibetan roofs [are flat and] are rendered picturesque by having placed at each corner the prayer tufts and prayer flags which flutter in the wind. Each flutter is as a prayer which rises to the gods and brings supernatural protection to the house and its inhabitants."

"The *chorten* or shrine [at Lhasa], which lay a few yards (p. 282) away seemed a special object of attraction for the women. Many of them came with little prayer cloths which they attached to the shrine; while others burnt small quantities of brush in the adjoining sacrificial urn."

In Burma, says Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 188, "Prayer flags . . . . are made of paper, cut fancifully into figures of dragons, lizards, and the like, with embroidery work round their edges. In the centre is written some pious reflection or aspiration, and the offerers place it on the shrine. . . . There are other small flags or streamers made of coloured cloth, and some of them, especially those presented by Shans, are stitched with many plies, until they stand out quite stiff. Others are made of varnished strips of zinc. They have nothing written on them and stand simply for the advancement of the piety of their offerers."

### 9. Ragbushes.

"Just at the top (p. 236) of the pass [above the Brahmaputra Valley] we found two *chortens* or shrines. We added our stones to the little pile in front of each, and also tied a rag to the brush sticking out above the stone heaps. We recited a charm (*mantram*) in honour of the gods and rested a few moments."

Ragbushes are very common in India and indeed practically over the world. In *The Word of Lalla*, 726, we read: "The poison of Shaktism entered only too largely into Mahâyâna Buddhism . . . . The Mahâyâna system of spells was greatly extended by making the mere repetition of them efficacious, leading to the well-known prayer wheels and rags on trees and bushes, which repeated on behalf of the users the spells they contained indefinitely by mere mechanical agitation and fluttering in the wind."

### 10. Cairns.

"On many occasions (p. 48), as we went along the road, we passed by some shrine or sacred image. One of these, the famous Red Idol, as it is called, is quite imposing, and I noticed with particular interest the heap of tiny stones in front of it. As Tibet has no flowers to present to the idols, the Tibetan peasants will carry pebbles and heap them up before the image."

"Here [Pass near Kampa Dzong] we found (p. 126) another Gyatse and though no one was around we carefully followed Tibetan custom and added a stone to the little heap in front of the mountain shrine and called on the gods for protection."

### 11. Prayer-wheels.

"Let into the walls (p. 54) of the lower part of the pagoda [at Gyangtse] were a number of revolving barrels. These were the famous Tibetan prayer-wheels. It is the duty of every man, as he passes along, to stop and twist these wheels, causing them to revolve. By this exercise, it is believed, a man acquires an enormous merit, and by his pious efforts he is ridded of all his sins."

"The old man (p. 158) carried a prayer-wheel in his hand, which he kept constantly turning in his hand, thereby laying up an enormous merit for himself, and he occasionally ejaculated the sacred formula of Tibet: *Om mani peme hung*, spelt *Om mani padme hum*, to make up for delinquencies, which the prayer-wheel might have left untouched."

(To be continued.)



## MISCELLANEA.

## MUSSELL MAN.

The mistakes about the term Musulman, the Perso-Urdu plural of Muslim, are, as has been frequently noticed in this *Journal*, innumerable. Here is a new one from an American book, *The Raven, a Biography of Sam Houston* by Marquis James, Indianapolis, 1929. Sam Houston (pronounced Hewston in Texas and Howston in New York) was the hero of the great fight with the Mexicans in 1826, which ended in the erection of the Republic of Texas, finally annexed by the United States. In the Houston Public Library there is a letter by Houston himself, dated 18 December 1842, which is quoted by Marquis James in the

book above indicated, p. 319. This heavily documented book, really a history of the founding of the State of Texas as one of the largest of the United States, is thoroughly American and like no other historical work that I have ever read. The letter quoted conforms to its general style. In it Houston writes: "He \* \* \* says Lamer [then President of the Republic of Texas] is a Mussell man and Burnett [another provincial Texan] a hog thief. Then Esau's [Houston's negro servant] convives and guests disturb the neighbourhood with bursts of cachination."

R. C. TEMPLE.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

**AJANTA:** The Colour and Monochrome Reproductions of the Ajanta Frescoes based on Photography, with an Explanatory Text by G. Yazdani, M.A., and an Introduction by Laurence Binyon. Part I: Text, 12½ × 10 in., pp. 55, with map; Album containing 40 folio plates, of which 16 are coloured and 24 in monochrome. Published under the special authority of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. Oxford University Press, 1930.

Of the many wonders of India perhaps the greatest are the caves hewn in the solid rock of picturesque hill sides, dating from the third century B.C. onwards. Many of these are marvels from their great size and wealth of sculptural detail in their porches, pillars, verandahs and ornamental friezes; but the series of 29 caves at Ajanta are specially celebrated for their painted frescoes—the largest collection of Buddhist paintings known.

Three previous attempts had been made to copy the frescoes since they were discovered early in the nineteenth century. Major Gill worked there for some twenty years; but the results of his labour were destroyed in the fire at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1866. Again, in 1872 Mr. Griffiths, Principal of the Bombay School of Art, commenced to make copies, with the assistance of his pupils, and worked for many years. Unfortunately a great deal of his work was also burnt, but he published his well known work, *The Paintings in the Buddhist Caves at Ajanta*, in 1896 from the copies saved. Next, Lady Herringham, with a band of Indian artists, took up the task during the years 1909-11, and in 1915 published a portfolio of plates, mostly coloured, which gave the public a clearer idea of the wonders of the frescoes. Though most useful for comparison, and perhaps preserving some details that have since been lost, these necessarily lack the accuracy ensured by photographic reproduction possessed by the present splendid series of plates. To preserve what remains of these frescoes for future generations, H. E. H. the Nizam authorized his Archaeological Department to have a complete photographic record prepared. The world of art is deeply indebted to the

munificence of His Exalted Highness and the active encouragement of his able finance minister, Sir Akbar Hydari. The difficulties of the task were great. Artificial lighting had first of all to be installed, when the superb colouring at last became clearly visible; but many of the frescoes had become badly damaged, and others had to be cleared of the ill effects of previous injudicious handling. In fact the work is a great achievement for Mr. Yazdani and his coadjutors. The reproductions are extraordinarily successful, as we see from this first album, which contains 24 plates in monochrome and 16 in colour. Besides these magnificent plates, there is a volume of text (with a charming introduction by Mr. L. Binyon) describing and interpreting the scenes depicted, and reflecting the close and sympathetic study which Mr. Yazdani has so long devoted to the frescoes.

It is in the north-west corner of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, where the Indhyâdri hills form ghâts leading down from the Deccan plateau to the valley of the Tâptî, that the rock-cut caves of Ajanta stand in a long semicircle in the steep hill-face. Here in these lonely shrines, as in the sculptured marbles of Amarâvatî, we see the further flowering of purely Indian art in direct line of inheritance from the naturalism of Bharhut and Sanchi. Most remarkable is the unity of purpose in all these monuments of devotion to the Buddha. The history of the caves covers some 650 years. The Buddha remains human and great in his charity and self-sacrifice throughout the stories of his lives as told in the *Jâtakas*, depicted at Ajanta even as they are at Bharhut and Sanchi. These were tales, simply told for the people, of the perfections of Buddhahood, which Śākya Muni had attained through his compassion for all sorrow and suffering during both his animal and human rebirths. We find them expressed with the same simplicity by the ancient artists of Ajanta in crowded scenes of movement and vitality, in which appear kings and courtiers, queens and princesses, the populace, birds and animals, trees, plants and flowers, and architectural



features of towns and palaces—truly life in all profusion, glowing in colour: yet we are told that only “lamp-black, red-ochre, yellow-ochre and lapis lazuli formed the principal colours.”

Part I illustrates the frescoes of Cave I, one of the later caves. Art and Buddhism had learnt new modes of expression during the centuries of Ajanta's growth; but the ideal is still that of the Buddha, his renunciation, his infinite compassion for others, and that devotion which is the fulfilment of charity portrayed anew in the conception of the Bodhisattva. We have here Ajanta's supreme expression in the grand figure of the compassionate Bodhisattva, Padmapāni, a favourite name of Avalokiteśvara (Plates XXIV-XXVII). Golden-hued, as behoves Buddhist tradition, his form is graceful in its supple strength, as, slightly bending, he holds the lotus in his right hand, the begging bowl in his left, and looks down with pitying eyes upon men. The expression of his face recalls his vow, that he will never enter *nirvāṇa* until he has saved all living beings. He remains listening to the cries of fear and pain, the Bodhisattva of hope, the evercompassionate Protector of half Asia. His majestic figure dominates the scene, yet he is one with the people as he holds the begging-bowl towards them, that they may attain merit by giving to the perfect one. All the lower part of the fresco has peeled away, but fortunately the upper portion has been left to show that Buddhist painters have their place in the world's highest art. The other two great Bodhisattvas are more damaged. Of one (Plate XXX) there is left a beautiful arm and hand and part of the fine face. The pair of jungle folk (? Bhils) in the upper left-hand corner, however, are most lifelike, as they listen eagerly to the great Being from behind a palisade, through which a pair of wild fowl have poked their heads. The male figure has half mounted the barrier, and looks as if ready to vault over and fling himself at the Bodhisattva's feet, while the woman apparently expostulates with him. The fresco reproduced on Plates XXXI-XXXIII is far better preserved, except for the Bodhisattva's lower lip and neck. He differs much in both features and colour from the others, and would seem to belong to another race. The varied ethnical types portrayed at Ajanta are interesting and important. The female heads in this fresco are very pleasing, especially the two in the lower left-hand corner, one of which is shown in colour, enlarged, on Plate XXXII. This lady has a serene expression and beautiful hazel-brown eyes. Round her dark hair is a white band, which also appears on the female heads in the palace scenes. Many of these bands would seem to be made of flowers and leaves, worn in addition to the row of jewels across the forehead. There is much variety also in the colouring of the female figures, from nut-brown, olive or golden-brown and brick-red to paler shades—even an ashen-grey. Very effective is the pensive Rānī with a

high, pierced gold crown and golden ornaments, which lighten up her olive-brown complexion most artistically. A note tells us that the apparent absence of covering on the upper part of the body is due to the reproduction, as the fine brush lines indicative of gauzy muslin are visible on the fresco. Very fine, diaphanous materials, such as the celebrated Dacca muslins, were used by the rich; and even on statues of the Buddha it is often difficult to see the lines of his garment.

Plate XXVIII (in colour) gives a highly imaginative and crowded, but well composed, scene of the temptation of the Buddha by Māra and his host. The various emotions expressed in the faces of the assailants and temptresses are in marked contrast to the imperturbable serenity of the seated Buddha, whose right hand points downwards, as he calls the earth to witness the good deeds of his former lives. Various positions of the hands (*mudras*) appear on Plate XXIIIb, where a number of Buddhas may be seen seated or standing upon a lotus against a background of flowers. Buddhist iconography had greatly developed since its early beginnings in the symbolism used to represent the Buddha—the wheel of the law, tree, footprints or empty throne—at Bharhut and Sanchi.

Plates XIX and XXXV, among others, remind us of sculptured friezes at Boro Budur and of sculpture and art in Cambodia and China. The story of Ajanta closed about 650 A.D., but it still retains its place in the history of Indian art. Buddhism carried its art with its spiritual teaching far afield. The unifying effect of a great tradition—perhaps unique in India's history—has set its seal on the art of Indonesia and is recognized in that of Central Asia and China.

M. F. H.

TENTH AND ELEVENTH REPORTS ON THE SEARCH OF HINDĪ MANUSCRIPTS for the years 1917-19 and 1920-22, by RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A. 9½ × 6 in.; pp. xi+511, and vii+513. Allahabad, U.P. Government Press, 1929.

The systematic search for Hindī manuscripts was commenced in 1900, under the patronage of the Government of the United Provinces, by Bābū Śyāmasundara Dāsa, whose name will ever be gratefully remembered by Hindī scholars for the splendid work done by him in connexion with the publications of the Nāgarī Prācarinī Sabhā and as editor of the great Hindī dictionary called *Hindī-Śabdāsāgara*. For the first nine years the work was supervised and reported on by Śyāmasundara Bābū himself, and seven Reports covering that period were issued by him. Pressure of work, however, compelled him to hand over the task to others, with the result that the work fell into arrears. The 8th and 9th Reports dealt with the eight years ending with 1916. Fortunately the distinguished scholar Rai Bahadur Hiralal was ultimately prevailed upon to take



over the duties and get the work brought up to date. The two volumes now before us, which have been compiled under his supervision, comprise the 10th and 11th Reports, dealing with the research carried out during the periods 1917-19 and 1920-22, respectively. They are arranged upon similar lines: a short introductory chapter contains a summary of the results, the libraries and collections examined, the centuries and years (where noted) to which the MSS. pertain and the subjects of which they treat, the new authors and works discovered, as well as other points of special interest or importance. This is followed by two lengthy "appendices," viz., I—Notes on all the authors whose works were found, and II—Extracts from their works. Appendix III contains extracts from the MSS. of unknown authors, and Appendix IV a list (with authors' names) of MSS. composed after 1850, which, under the standing orders, did not call for report. Two useful indexes have been added, of (I) authors and (II) works.

The new MSS. discovered range in date from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, and refer to a great variety of subjects, religious works being predominant, but philosophy, rhetoric, erotics, history and medicine also figure largely in the lists. Among the most remarkable results of the inquiries made is the large number of works that have come to light, both in prose and verse, several being of special interest or merit, written by authors hitherto unknown. The examination of this mass of material has not only led to the acquisition of useful biographical and historical information, but has enabled the periods of many authors, which were previously doubtful or disputed, to be definitely established. Authors with the same name have been found to be distinct persons, while others have been found to be identical, though writing under different names.

Among important new finds recorded in the 11th Report are—a complete work by Vidyapati entitled *Kīrtilatā*; a complete (and probably the most reliable) text of the *Madanāṣṭaka*, attributed to Rahīm, the learned courtier of Akbar; an interesting work on the Dhāmī panth by Prāṇanāthā, the founder of that sect; and a copy of Tulasīdāsa's *Bālakāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa*, dating from 1604 A.D., which has a special value as being apparently free from interpolations.

C. E. A. W. O.

ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF  
ARCHÆOLOGY, TRAVANCORE, for 1104 M. E.  
(1929 A.D.) Government Press, Trivandram.

The territories of H. H. the Mahārāṇī Regent of Travancore form the most southern portion of the Indian Peninsula, and contain one of the densest populations therein, with survivals of some of the oldest forms of civilisation, and at the same time some of the most modern. This remotest part of

India is also in some respects the most interesting to the student of anthropology in all its branches. It has produced, almost as a matter of course, a lively archæological report.

During the year under review the chief work undertaken was taking stock of the enormous number of inscriptions in the State—the collection up to date amounting to 1,231 lithic, 51 copperplate and 54 "cadjān," i.e., palm-leaf inscriptions, making a total of 1,336. They relate to practically every dynasty that has ruled in South India and include 174 Christian and 3 Muhammadan inscriptions and are scattered about in 184 localities. The value of such work for historical purposes is beyond all doubt.

The Mutta (Maṭha) or Vedic Colleges of Travancore which are well endowed and are divided into three classes, purporting to study Vedic and Secular Philosophy and Vedic ritual, have received much attention. The Department is undertaking a thorough and comprehensive examination of their records. Here again its work can be made to be of the highest value.

Travancore is rich in mural paintings and architectural sculptures, usually illustrating Puranic legends, and here, if the Department will correctly photograph and otherwise reproduce them, much work of importance is before it.

Her Highness the Regent has a fine collection of coins, an armoury and a library. Among the coins are specimens of Roman coins—of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero—very valuable to show the time and duration of a famous sea trade. An examination and catalogue of these coins and of the armoury and library would be of the highest value to European students. As regards the Library the following extract is worth recording:—

"*Kanakkusāram* is a treatise in an ancient Malayalam dialect, in the 5th book or chapter of which, entitled *Kalañju*, are treated the weights of gems, gold, pearls, etc., for ascertaining which the following table is given:—

1 nelmai	=	1 visatukkam
Then		
4 nelmai	=	1 kunni
2 kunni	=	1 mañjādi
2 mañjādi	=	1 paṇatūkkam
10 paṇatūkkam	=	1 kalañju

The Superintendent, Mr. Vasudeva Poduval, has interested himself in ordeals and oaths, and has produced two short appendices containing an account of each, which are of much interest for a public outside the borders of the Travancore State.

Travancore is a land of mountains and still waters and therefore of many attractive sites. A photograph of one such, Kaladgi, the birth-place of Shankarāchārya, is given as an illustration. Altogether we have in this modest report a document containing much that should attract the student of things Indian.

R. C. TEMPLE.



38. The speakers of Dardic inhabit the wild mountain country lying between the Kābul River and the lower ranges of the North-Western Himālaya on the south, and the Hindūkuš and the Mustāy Range on the north. They fall into three groups, the Kāfir, Khōwār, and the Dard. Most of the speakers of the languages of the *Kāfir* group (Kf.) dwell in the wild and inhospitable country of Kāfiristān, which is not within the sphere of influence of British India, being subject to the Amīr of Afyānistān. Our knowledge of them is therefore limited. We know Bašgalī best, as a good grammar has been written by Davidson, and we have a dictionary by Konow. On these is based the account given in the LSI., but since that was published additional and important information has been provided by Morgenstierne in his *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan* (Oslo, 1926). Before that Report appeared the only speakers of the language known to us were the Kāfir tribe dwelling in the Bašgal valley of Kāfiristān, and it was accordingly called "Bašgalī" by English writers. But Morgenstierne has discovered that these Bašgal Kāfirs are comparatively late arrivals in their present seat, having come there only some twelve generations ago from the Ktivi and neighbouring valleys much farther west in Northern Afyānistān. In their ancient home the same tribe of Kāfirs still also persists under the name of Katī, and Morgenstierne (pp. 40 ff.) has found that this Katī language is the same as what has hitherto been known as Bašgalī. A better name for the whole language would therefore be "Katī," and so it is called by Morgenstierne, but in the present work, to avoid confusion, I have thought it best to adhere to the older and more familiar name. Between the two groups of Katīs, and directly south of the Eranian-speaking Munjān, lie the Prēsuns, whose language is known as *Veron*, *Prēsun*, or *Wasī-veri*. It differs considerably from Bašgalī,—so much so that Morgenstierne (p. 47), who calls it *Prasun*, suspects an un-Aryan substratum. The speakers, in their inhospitable home, were not found to be easy of approach, and our information concerning it is based but on a brief interview with one of them by Morgenstierne, and on the language of one *Prēsun* shepherd who was enticed from the wilds of his native valleys to Citrāl for the purposes of the Linguistic Survey of India. As its geographical position suggests, *Veron* possesses more Eranian characteristics than do other Dardic forms of speech, such as the frequent change of *d* to *l*; but, on the other hand, it sometimes agrees in phonetic details with the Dard group, where the other Kāfir languages differ from it.<sup>1</sup> South of the Prēsuns dwell the Wai Kāfirs, who speak *Wai-alā*, closely related to Bašgalī. In addition to the information given by the LSI., we have now a further account by Morgenstierne (pp. 42 ff.). West of *Wai-alā*, and immediately to the south of the western section of Katī, lies *Aškund* (or *Aškun*). The LSI. failed to obtain any specimens of it, but Morgenstierne was more fortunate. He was able to show its close relationship to *Wai-alā*, and to identify it with the "Kāfir" language described nearly seventy years ago by Trumpp in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.<sup>2</sup> *Pašai*, a name that is possibly derived from "Piśāca," is the speech of the Dēhgāns of Laymān and of the country eastward as far as the River Kunar, that is to say of the tract between Western Katī, Aškund, and *Wai-alā* on the North and the Kābul river on the South. It is also called *Laymānī* and *Dēhgānī*. Since it was described in the LSI., a valuable addition to our knowledge of it has been made by Morgenstierne (pp. 81 ff.). It has several well-marked dialects, which fall into two groups, an Eastern and a Western. In the Western dialects, *š* usually becomes *χ*, a change that occurs not only in the neighbouring dialects of the Eranian *Paštō*, but also in the Indo-Aryan Gādī dialect of Western Pahārī. *Tirāhī* is the language of the people who once inhabited the *Tirāh* country, and who in comparatively modern times migrated to Ningnahār, both in Afyānistān. Thanks to the help of Sir Aurel Stein, a fairly full account of this language will be found in pp. 265 ff. of vol. I, Part i, of the LSI. Before that, all that we knew about it was confined to the few words contained in a short vocabulary by Leech.<sup>3</sup> *Gawarbatī* (Gwr.), or *Gawar-speech*, is the language of the



Gawars, a tribe living in the Narsat country, at the junction of the Bašgal and Citrāl rivers. *Kalāšā* (Kl.) is the language of the Kalāšā Kāfirs, who live in the Dōāb between the same two rivers. Gwr. and Kl. are both spoken in territory within the sphere of British influence, and we have more information about them than about most of the other Kāfir languages. Biddulph<sup>4</sup> has given a vocabulary of Gwr. under the name of *Narisati*, and Leitner's *Dardistan* is largely taken up with information about Kl. All the Kāfir languages are strongly influenced by the neighbouring Paštō.<sup>5</sup> Pašai, the most southern member of the group also shows traces of the influence of the Indo-Aryan languages of the Western Panjāb, and Kalāšā, on the other hand, is, as might be expected, influenced by Khōwār, the language regarding which we now proceed to speak.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., the aspiration of a final surd, the change of *ṇg* to *n*, and the elision of medial *m*.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS., 1862, pp. 1 ff. For the language, see Morgenstierne in Mrgn. Rep., pp. 44 ff., and a much fuller account entitled "The Language of the Ashkun Kāfirs" in *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, II (1929), 192 ff.

<sup>3</sup> JASB., VII, 783.

<sup>4</sup> *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, cxvi.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., there can be little doubt but that they owe the presence of the cerebral *ṇ* to the influence of Paštō.

39. *Khōwār* (Kh.), the language of the Khō tribe, occupies a linguistic position midway between the Kāfir and the Dard group of the Dardic languages.<sup>1</sup> It is the language of Upper Citrāl and of a part of Yāsīn, and is also called *Citrālī* or *Catrārī*. Being spoken in a tract under the British sphere of influence, we have a fair amount of information concerning it. There is a great deal about it in Leitner's *Dardistan*, under the name of 'Arnyia,' and we have grammars by Biddulph (*Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, cxxi) and O'Brien.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See E. Kuhn, *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der Hindukush Dialekte*, in *Album Kern*, 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Published in 1895. This work would have been more valuable if the author had consulted his predecessors, Biddulph and Leitner.

40. The principal genuine language of the *Dard* group (Drd. Gr.) is *Ṣiṇā*<sup>1</sup> (S.), the language of the Ṣiṇ tribe, inhabiting the country north of Kašmīr, including Gurēz, Drās, Cilās, and Gilgit. In former days these people extended far to the East, over Baltistān into Tibet, at least up to Khalatse, beyond Leh in Ladakh.<sup>2</sup> Full accounts of this great tribe and of its language will be found in Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* and in Leitner's *Dardistan*.<sup>3</sup> The people of Gurēz still call themselves Dards, a name which has survived from the name of the great nation, the 'Derdai' of Megasthenes<sup>4</sup> and the Daradas or Dāradas of the MBh. There are several dialects of *Ṣiṇā*, the most important of which are *Gilgitī* of the Gilgit valley, *Puniālī* of north-west Gilgit, *Astōrī* of the Astōr valley, *Cilāsī* of the Indus valley from near Astōr to Tangir, *Gurēzī* of the Gurēz valley, and the two *Brōkpā*, or Highland, dialects of Drās and of Dah-Hanū. The last-named is spoken in a couple of isolated villages in Baltistān, surrounded by speakers of the Baltī dialect of Tibetan. It differs so widely from even the *Brōkpā* of Drās, that Drās and Dah-Hanū people have to use Baltī as a *lingua franca*, when they communicate with each other. The name 'Dard' has been extended by Europeans to include all the Aryan languages spoken on the south side of the Hindūkuš, and is the basis of the name 'Dardic' which I here use for the Modern Piśāca Languages.

<sup>1</sup> The word is pronounced with a cerebral *ṣ* and a cerebral *ṇ*, with the stress accent on the last syllable. The presence of the cerebral *ṇ* is secondary, being due to the proximity of the cerebral *ṣ*, exactly as occurs under the well-known rule of Sanskrit. An original cerebral *ṇ* does not, so far as I am aware, occur in the language. It may be added that the same rule for the cerebralization of *n* occurs also in Buruśaskī, see Lorimer, as quoted below, pp. 188-9.

<sup>2</sup> See A. H. Francke, *A Language Map of Western Tibet*, JASB., vol. LXXIII, Pt. i (1904), pp. 362 ff., and *The Dards of Khalatse on Western Tibet*, MASB., 1906, pp. 413 ff.



<sup>3</sup> See also, beside the grammar of T. Grahame Bailey, D. L. R. Lorimer, *Phonetics of the Gilgit Dialect of Shina*, JRAS., 1924, 1 and 177, and, for important information regarding the Brōkpā, or Highland, dialects, R. B. Shaw, *Stray Arians in Tibet*, JASB., XLVII, Part i (1878), 26 ff.

<sup>4</sup> J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, 51.

41. *Kāśmīrī* or *Kāśīrī* (Kś.) is the language of the valley of Kaśmīr. Its basis is a tongue closely allied to *Ṣiṇā*, and some of its most common words, such as the personal pronouns or words indicating close blood-relationship, are almost identical with the corresponding words in that language. But at an early date it developed a literature under Sanskrit influence, and both its vocabulary and its accidence have been strongly affected by that language or its descendants, especially the Lahndā of the western Panjāb, spoken immediately to its south. In the fourteenth century A.D. the valley was invaded by the Musalmāns, and it remained under their rule till the year 1814, when it was conquered by the Sikhs. During these five centuries the bulk of the population became converted to Islām, and a large number of Persian and (through Persian) Arabic words was added to the vocabulary. Those Kāśmīrīs who became Musalmāns naturally borrowed most freely from this foreign source, but the speech even of those few who remained faithful to Hinduism is also infected by it. Kāśmīrī has a small literature, and has received study at the hands of its own speakers. A grammar, on the model of the Kaumudīs of India and named *Kaśmīraśab-dāmṛta*, was written about the year 1875 A.D. by Īśvara Kaula,<sup>1</sup> who for the first time gave the language a fairly consistent system of spelling. His system is gradually being adopted, but with most writers, the spelling of the language is still in a state of chaos. Kāśmīrī varies slightly from place to place. It has one important dialect, *Kaṣṭawārī*, spoken in Kaṣṭawār (Kishtwar of the maps) to the south-east of the Valley, on the Upper Cināb. There are also a number of local dialects of small importance, such as *Dōḍī*, *Rāmbanī*, and *Pōgulī*, spoken in isolated villages south of the Valley, in the hills between it and the Cināb, where the latter passes through Jammū territory. Kāśmīrī is the only one of the Dardic languages that has a written character. Musalmāns, who form the bulk of the population, employ a modification of the Persian character. Hindūs prefer the Śāradā character, and in this most old Kāśmīrī works are written, but of late years the Nāgarī has begun to come into general use. Although Kāśmīrī cannot be called a pure example of the Dardic languages, it is the only one for which we have ample materials for study. It will hence be frequently referred to in the following pages.

<sup>1</sup> Published by the ASB., under the editorship of the present writer, in 1898.

42. *Maiyā* (My.) may be taken as a corrupted form of *Ṣiṇā*. The river Indus, after leaving Baltistān, flows pretty nearly due west through the Cilās country till it receives the river Kandiā. From this point the joint Indus-cum-Kandiā turns to the south, and passes through a wild hill-country known as the Indus Kōhistān, till it debouches on to the plains of the Panjāb, and a tract in this Kōhistān is locally known as Mayō. In this Kōhistān several dialects are spoken, all based upon *Ṣiṇā*, but much mixed with the Lahndā spoken to its south, and with Paštō. These dialects are collectively known as Kōhistānī, and *Maiyā*, the most important of them, may be taken as a typical example. Others, such as *Cilis* and *Gaurō*, are described by Biddulph in *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*. None of them have any known literature or written character. The Kōhistān was for long under the domination of the Afyāns, and the main language of the country is still Paštō, Kōhistānī being spoken only by a few tribes who, while they have accepted Islām from their conquerors, still adhere to their ancient tongue.

43. Another Kōhistān, that of the valleys of the rivers *Ṣwāt*, *Panjākōrā*, and *Kunar*, lies immediately to the west of the Indus Kōhistān. Here also Paštō is the main language, but, exactly as in the case of the Indus valley, there are a certain number of tribes who still speak languages that are based on *Ṣiṇā*, with an admixture of Paštō and Lahndā. As a



typical example, we may take *Tōrwālī*, spoken in the south of this Kōhistān. Biddulph, in the work already mentioned, describes it under the name of 'Torwālāk,' and it also has a grammar by the present writer published by the Royal Asiatic Society. Other dialects which may be mentioned are *Gārwī*, spoken north of Tōrwālī, and *Baškārik* of the upper part of the Šwāt and Panjkōrā valleys. The latter has also been described by Biddulph.

44. None of the Dardic languages really fall strictly within the definition of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and hence they will not directly form an object of study in this work. But nevertheless they have exercised such strong influence over the true IAVs. of the Himālaya, the Panjāb, Gujarāt, and the west of Central India, that some consideration of their peculiarities is a necessity, and, accordingly, when such a necessity occurs reference will be made to them in the following pages.

45. We have seen that the Dardic languages are divided into three groups,—a western, a central language (Khōwār), and an eastern. It is important to note that the western group is more nearly related to the eastern group than either is to Khōwār, a language which, according to geographical position, separates them as if it were a wedge between the two.<sup>1</sup> In order to illustrate (not to prove) the independent position occupied by Khōwār, I give the following short list of words partly based on Leitner. Besides the Kh. terms, are shown the corresponding words in two western languages—Bašgalī and Kalāšā; and two eastern ones—Šiṇā and Kāšmīrī. Although Kh. occupies this independent position, it certainly belongs to the Dardic languages, and has borrowed nothing of importance from the Falcāh languages to its north.

English.	Western Group.		Eastern Group.		Khōwār.
	Bašgalī.	Kalāšā.	Šiṇā.	Kāšmīrī.	
Bad	.. <i>digar</i>	<i>khāca</i>	<i>khacu</i>	<i>kac<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>šum.</i>
Behind	.. <i>ptior</i>	<i>pištō</i>	<i>phatū</i>	<i>pat<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>ācī.</i>
Black	.. <i>žī</i>	<i>krūna</i>	<i>kinō</i>	<i>krehun<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>šā.</i>
Bone	.. <i>attī</i>	<i>atī</i>	<i>āṭī</i>	<i>aṭijū</i>	<i>kol.</i>
Cow	.. <i>gāo</i>	<i>gak</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>gāv</i>	<i>lešū.</i>
Deep	.. <i>guru</i>	<i>gūt</i>	<i>gutumō</i>	<i>gūtul<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>kulum.</i>
Dog	.. <i>krūi</i>	<i>šeon</i>	<i>šū</i>	<i>hūn<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>rēnī.</i>
Eye	.. <i>acē</i>	<i>ēc</i>	<i>ācī</i>	<i>ach<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>yac.</i>
Finger	.. <i>angur</i>	<i>angō</i>	<i>āgui</i>	<i>ang<sup>u</sup>jū</i>	<i>camūt.</i>
Head	.. <i>šai</i>	<i>šiš</i>	<i>šis</i>	<i>šēr</i>	<i>sor.</i>
Heavy	.. <i>gāno</i>	<i>agūroka</i>	<i>aguru</i>	<i>gōb<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>kāyī.</i>
High	.. <i>drgr</i>	<i>hūtala</i>	<i>uthalu</i>	<i>wōtul<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>žang.</i>
Horse	.. <i>ušp</i>	<i>haš</i>	<i>āšpō</i>	<i>gur<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>istor.</i>
Husband	.. <i>mōš</i>	<i>berū</i>	<i>barō</i>	<i>bartā</i>	<i>māš.</i>
Is	.. <i>assē</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>hanū</i>	<i>chuh</i>	<i>asur, šair.</i>
Rise	.. <i>uštā</i>	<i>ušti</i>	<i>uthē</i>	<i>wōth</i>	<i>rupe.</i>
Silver	.. <i>aru</i>	<i>rūa</i>	<i>rup</i>	<i>rōp-</i>	<i>droxum (cf. δρυχμή)</i>
Son	.. <i>puṭr</i>	<i>puṭr</i>	<i>puṭ</i>	<i>pūt<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>jaū.</i>
Sour	.. <i>cēnai</i>	<i>cūkra</i>	<i>curkō</i>	<i>tsōk<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>šut.</i>
Star	.. <i>rašta</i>	<i>tarō</i>	<i>tārū</i>	<i>tāruk<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>istarī.</i>
Stone	.. <i>wōtt</i>	<i>batt</i>	<i>bat</i>	<i>waṭ-</i>	<i>bōrt.</i>
Sweet	.. <i>macē</i>	<i>māhora</i>	<i>mōrō</i>	<i>mōdur<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>širīn.</i>
Tongue	.. <i>dits</i>	<i>jip</i>	<i>jip</i>	<i>zēv</i>	<i>ligīnī.</i>
Was	.. <i>azzi</i>	<i>asō</i>	<i>asū</i>	<i>ās<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>āssiṭai, ošoi.</i>



It must not be assumed that Khōwār is so different from the other Dardic languages as this table seems to show. The table shows only points of difference and does not show the many points of agreement.

<sup>1</sup> This was first shown by Leitner in *The Bashgeli Kafirs and their Language*, reprinted from the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, No. 43, Lahore, June 10, 1880. Morgenstierne (Rep., p. 74) is of a different opinion.

46. Finally, in regard to Dardic languages, it is noteworthy that they still possess many words in extremely ancient forms. Such are, for instance, Kl. *kakawak*, V. *kakōku*, Bš. *kakak*, a fowl, as compared with the Vedic Sanskrit *kṛkavākr-*; Kh. *droxum*, silver, which preserves the Greek *δρᾶχμῆ* unaltered to the present day, although even in Skr. it became changed to *dramma-*; Skr. *kṣīra-*, milk, Bš. *kašīr*, white (§ 290); Skr. *svasār-*, Kh. *ispusār*, a sister; Skr. *aśru-*, Kh. *ašru*, a tear; and several others.

## CHAPTER II.

### Historical.

47. We have completed our geographical survey of the IAVs. and their dialects. It has been seen that they have been divided into three families—a Midland, an Intermediate; and an Outer. We shall now consider the mutual relationship of these families, and it will be more convenient to consider their growth downwards from the source than to follow their course upstream. The treatment must necessarily be historical, but the portion dealing with those stages which preceded that of the IAVs. lies outside the frame of the present work, and my account of them will be as brief as is consistent with gaining a clear idea of the whole subject.

48. The earliest documents illustrating the language of the Indo-Aryans that we possess are the hymns of the Ṛg Vēda. These hymns were composed at widely different times and in widely different localities, some in Arachosia, or even in Erān itself, and some in the country near the Jamunā; but, owing to their having undergone a process of editing by those that compiled them into their present arrangement, they now show few easily recognizable traces of dialectic differences.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it is certain that even at that early period 'there must have existed a popular language which already differed widely in its phonetic aspect from the literary dialect,'<sup>2</sup> and that this folk-language varied so greatly from place to place that Indo-Aryan speakers of one locality were unintelligible to Indo-Aryan speakers of another.<sup>3</sup> In the process of editing the hymns, much of the original dialectic variations have disappeared, and there has even been, as has always been the tendency in literary India, a disposition to use exceptional forms as bases for generalizations<sup>4</sup>; but, nevertheless, the hymns, even as we possess them, form an invaluable record of the Aryan language of ancient India, especially of that of the Eastern Panjāb and of the Upper Gangetic Dōāb where they were compiled.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, von Bradke, ZDMG, xl, 673 ff., Wk., xiii, xix, xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 24. Cf. Wk., xvi ff., xxv.

<sup>3</sup> Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*<sup>1</sup>, i, 89, 114, 136.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. von Bradke, 669 ff., Wk., xii.

49. It is impossible to trace the origin of these ancient dialects in detail, but one general theory must be stated, which not only has the authority of a distinguished philologist, but is also supported by the leading Indian ethnologist.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Risley, *Report of the Census of India* (1901), i, 511, repeated in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1907), i, 302 ff. According to him, the earlier Aryan invasion suggested by Hoernle, and mentioned below, was one of a tribe or tribes who brought their women with them. The later invaders represent the



Indo-Aryan population of the Midland, which presents the ethnological type that might be expected to result from the incursion of a fair long-headed race that entered India by a route which prevented women from accompanying them, into a land inhabited by dark-skinned Dravidians, whose women they took for themselves. It is thus seen that Risley postulates two sets of invaders, one bringing their women and settling at first in the central and western Panjāb, and the other coming without their women, and settling at first in the Midland. It is evidently immaterial to his argument which was the first and which the second, but he assumes that the first was that with women.

50. On purely Linguistic grounds, Hoernle<sup>1</sup> considered that at some former period of its history, North India was divided between two great forms of speech which he calls the 'Śaurasēnī tongue' (Western), and the 'Māgadhī tongue' (Eastern), respectively. He further suggested that at a still earlier period the limits of the Māgadhī tongue included a much wider extent of country. He finds isolated traces of Māgadhī characteristics in the far West. These increase in number as we proceed East, till at last in the East itself they predominate so as to constitute the Māgadhī tongue. These circumstances, he maintains, seem to disclose the fact that at some time in the remote past the Māgadhī tongue must have reached up to the extreme North-Western frontiers, and have been the only language of North India; but that in course of time it gradually receded more and more to the South and East before the advancing tide of the Śaurasēnī tongue, leaving, however, here and there in the deserted territories traces of its former presence. With this Māgadhī tongue Hoernle associated Paštō and Kāfirī, and concludes, 'It would appear from this that Māgadhī Prakrit and the Paštō and Kāfirī were once in close connexion, perhaps one language, and that, at some time in the remote past, they became separated by the Śaurasēnī Prakrit tongue, like a wedge cleaving them asunder and gradually pushing the Māgadhī further and further away towards the East.'

<sup>1</sup> Hl. Gd. Gr., xxx ff.

51. I have quoted at length this eminent scholar's theory, and now proceed to state my own opinion which is founded upon it. In the first place, it must be remarked that, since Hoernle wrote, it has been proved that Paštō is an Eranian language, and hence can hardly have been closely connected with the Indo-Aryan Māgadhī tongue. As regards Hoernle's Kāfirī, by which he means Aškund, one of the Dardic languages, the case is somewhat different. In some respects Dardic differs widely from NWIAV., *i.e.*, Lahndā and Sindhī, while in other respects it closely agrees with them. Reference has already been made to this point (*ante* §§ 10, 24, 25), and I have stated my opinion that the points of agreement are due to the intermingling of the ancient speakers of the old form of Pś. Pr. with the Indo-Aryans of the North-West,—in other words, that they are due to very ancient borrowing by the latter. Otherwise, I am unable to account for the existence of Eranianisms in Dardic that are wanting in L. and S. On the other hand, it is evident that Kś., a Dardic language, either has borrowed freely from NWIAV., or else is a connecting link between the two groups. Possibly, when we know more about Dardic, it may be shown that I am wrong, and that Hoernle's instinct was justified in suggesting that the old Pr. of the North-West, *i.e.*, Hoernle's old Māgadhī tongue, and the ancestor of Dardic were once in close connexion or perhaps one common language.<sup>1</sup> My mind is entirely open on the point.

<sup>1</sup> Three interesting points are on Hl.'s side. One of them is the optional change of *r* to *l* in *Cūlikāpaśā-cika*. The same change was obligatory in Mg. Pr. Cf. *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn, I, 2, 1. 8) *hē layō*, for *hē arayah*, in the speech of the Asuras, which is often said to be Mg. Pr., but can be better explained as CPś. Pr. The second is the change of *sm* to *s* (Kś. *asi*, we, etc.) See Hl. Gd. Gr., 280, note I. The third is the frequent use of *ñ* both in Pś. Pr. and in Mg. Pr. (Hc., iv, 305, etc. Cf. Hl. Gd. Gr., 11).



52. I nevertheless believe that NWIAV., whether of common origin with Dardic or not, are much more closely related to Hoernle's Māgadhī tongue than even he supposed.<sup>1</sup> In other respects also his contention seems to me to be entirely justified, and, so far back as we can trace the linguistic history of Northern India, we find a 'Māgadhī Prakrit tongue' occupying the North-West, South and East, with a wedge of Śaurasēnī in the Midland, which it embraces on three sides. Now, the Aryan invasion of India was a process extending over several centuries. The Vēda itself shows this. There are, for instance, hymns that treat of Divōdāsa of Arachosia as a contemporary, and there are others that tell of his descendant, Sudās, who dwelt in the Panjāb, and in whose days the martial exploits of his ancestor had already become legendary.<sup>2</sup> This invasion may have been gradual, or, as Risley (*op. cit.*) suggests, there may have been two different Aryan invasions at widely separated periods. For our present purposes, it is immaterial which was the fact. If it was gradual, then the first comers differed from the latest as widely as if there had been separate invasions instead of a continuous one. Sudās's hymn-writers tell us how he conquered the Pūrus, another Aryan tribe far to the East, on the Jamunā, whom they called *mṛdhraṇvāc*, of barbarous speech.<sup>3</sup> Again, we have a valuable reference to the struggle between the Aryans of the Western and those of the Eastern Panjāb, in the contest between the Western Brāhmaṇa Vasiṣṭha and the Eastern Kṣatriya Viśvāmitra.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the war of the Mahābhārata between the Kurus and the Pāṇcālas gives us hints as to the state of affairs at a later stage of history. Since Lassen's time it has been recognized that the latter were older settlers than the former, and it is an interesting fact that, broadly speaking, their allies belonged to the South Midland and Pāṇcāla, or East Midland, while the Kurus had allies from the North-West, the South, and the East. This would illustrate a later stage of the struggle. The Pāṇcālas of the East Midland would be the representatives of the 'Māgadhī Prakrit tongue,' opposed to the Kurus coming of the West Midland and Eastern Panjāb. The fact that the Kurus are described as having allies in the extreme East can hardly affect the question. We can accept the original authors of the old Bhārata lay (circ. 400 B.C.) as authorities for the centre and west of Northern India, but references to settled kingdoms in the Far East must be ascribed to later writers. Political considerations affected the conduct of the nations immediately to the East of Pāṇcāla, viz., Eastern and Western Kōsala, Vatsa, Kāśī, Vidēha, and Eastern and Western Magadha.<sup>5</sup> Some of these sided with one party and the others with the other. Making these subtractions, we find that the war was one between the Brahmanical Kurus of the West Midland and the anti-Brahmanical Pāṇcālas to their East.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This point is discussed in detail in an Appendix to this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Hillebrandt, 104 ff., 109.

<sup>3</sup> Hillebrandt, 114.

<sup>4</sup> Hillebrandt, 110, also maintains that there was a second invasion of Aryans from the West. It is worth noting that Viśvāmitra called Vasiṣṭha a Yātudhāna, or Rākṣasa, a form of abuse that the latter strongly resented (Rv. vii, 104, 15).

<sup>5</sup> The kingdom of Magadha was, as a whole, hostile to the Midland. See Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, 104.

<sup>6</sup> Pargiter, JRAS., 1908, 334 ff., and map; Grierson, *ib.*, 602 ff.

53. It is to be noted that the Rāma legend belonged to Eastern India, while the MBh. (originally with Kurus, not Pāṇcālas, for its heroes) belonged to the Midland. Nevertheless, the connexion of the East with the extreme North-West was close. The progenitors of Rāma, the Ikṣvākuides, whose home was in Kōsala, east of the Midland, belonged originally to the



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